

THE ANTIENT  
**HISTORY**  
OF THE


EGYPTIANS,	MEDES and PERSIANS,
CARTHAGINIANS,	MACEDONIANS,
ASSYRIANS,	AND
BABYLONIANS,	GRECIANS.

By Mr. ROLLIN.

VOLUME V.

CONTAINING

An account of the MANNERS and CUSTOMS  
of the GREEKS; the History of DIONYSIUS  
the Elder and Younger, Tyrants of SYRA-  
CUSE; and the affairs of GREECE from the  
treaty of ANTALCIDES to the time of DA-  
RIUS CODOMANUS, King of PERSIA.



G L A S G O W:

Printed by WILLIAM DUNCAN, junior.

M DCC LXIII.



# HISTORY

1608/4567

EGYPTIANS  
CARTHAGINIANS  
AND  
GREEK  
BABYLONIANS  
ASSYRIANS  
MACEDONIANS  
INDIANS AND PERSIANS

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rius Codomanes, King of Persia.



G. L. A. S. W.

Printed by W. DUNCAN, JUNIOR

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continued.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

PERSIANS and GRECIANS.

MANNERS and CUSTOMS of the GREEKS.

C H A P. III.

*OF RELIGION.*

**I**T may be observed hitherto, and will be further remarkable as we proceed, that in all ages and regions the several nations of the world, however various and opposite in their characters, inclinations, and manners, have always united in one essential point; the inherent opinion of an adoration due to a supreme being, and of external methods necessary to evidence such a belief. Into whatever country we cast our eyes, we find priests, altars, sacrifices, festivals, religious ceremonies, temples, or places consecrated to religious worship. In every people we discover a reverence and awe of the Divinity; an homage and honour paid to him, and an open profession of an entire dependence upon him in all their undertakings and necessities, in all their adversities and dangers. Incapable of themselves to penetrate futurity, and to ascertain events in their own favour, we find them intent upon consulting the Divinity by oracles, and by other methods of a like nature; and to merit his protection by prayers, vows, and offerings. It is by the same supreme authority they believe the most solemn treaties are rendered inviolable. It is that gives sanction to their oaths; and to that by imprecations is referred the punishment of such crimes and enormities as escape the know-



lege and power of men. On their private occasions, voyages, journeys, marriages, diseases, the Divinity is still invoked. With him their every repast begins and ends. No war is declared, no battle fought, no enterprise formed, without his aid being first implored; to which the glory of the success is constantly ascribed by public acts of thanksgiving, and by the oblation of the most precious of the spoils, which they never fail to set apart as the indispensable right of the Divinity.

They never vary in regard to the foundation of this belief. If some few persons, depraved by bad philosophy, presume from time to time to rise up against this doctrine, they are immediately disclaimed by the public voice. They continue singular and alone, without making parties, or forming sects: The whole weight of the public authority falls upon them; a price is set upon their heads; whilst they are universally regarded as execrable persons, the bane of civil society, with whom it is criminal to have any kind of commerce.

So general, so uniform, so perpetual a consent of all the nations of the universe, which neither the prejudice of the passions, the false reasoning of some philosophers, nor the authority and example of certain princes, have ever been able to weaken or vary, can proceed only from a first principle, which shares in the nature of man; from an inherent sense implanted in his heart by the author of his being, and from an original tradition as ancient as the world itself.

Such were the source and origin of the religion of the antients; truly worthy of man, had he been capable of persisting in the purity and simplicity of these first principles: but the errors of the mind, and the vices of the heart, those sad effects of the corruption of human nature, strangely disfigured their original beauty. They are but faint rays, small sparks of light, that a general depravity does not utterly extinguish; but they are incapable of dispelling the profound darkness of a night, which prevails almost universally, and presents nothing to view but absurdities, follies, extravagancies, licentiousness, and disorder, in a word, an hideous chaos of frantic excesses and enormous vices.

Can any thing be more admirable than these maxims of Cicero \*? That we ought above all things to be convinced, that there is a Supreme Being, who presides over all the events of the world, and disposes every thing as sovereign lord and arbiter: That it is to him mankind are indebted for all the good they enjoy: That he penetrates into, and is conscious of whatever passes in the most secret recesses of our hearts: That he treats the just and the impious according to their respective merits: That the true means of acquiring his favour, and of being pleasing in his sight, is not by the use of riches and magnificence in his worship, but by presenting him an heart pure and blameless, and by adoring him with an unfeigned and profound veneration.

Sentiments so sublime and religious were the result of the reflections of the few who employed themselves in the study of the heart of man, and in tracing him to the first principles of his institution, of which they still retained some happy, though imperfect ideas. But the whole system of their religion, the tendency of their public feasts and ceremonies, the soul of the Pagan theology, of which the poets were the only teachers and professors, the very example of the gods, whose violent passions, scandalous adventures, and abominable crimes were celebrated in their hymns or odes, and proposed in some measure to the imitation, as well as adoration of the people; these were certainly very unfit means to enlighten the minds of men, and to form them to virtue and morality.

It is remarkable, that in the greatest solemnities of the Pagan religion, and in their most sacred and reverent mysteries, far from perceiving any thing to recommend virtue, piety, or the practice of the most essential duties of ordinary life, we find the authority of laws, the imperious

\* Sit hoc jam a principio persuasum civibus: dominos esse omnium rerum ac moderatores deos, eaque quae geruntur eorum geri judicio ac numine; eosdemque optime de genere hominum mereri; et, qualis quisque sit, quid agat, quid in se admittat, qua mente, qua pietate religiones colat, intueri; piorumque et impiorum habere rationem. --- Ad divos adeunto casto. Pietatem adhibento, opes amovento. Cic. de leg. l. ii. n. 15. & 19.

power of custom, the presence of magistrates, the assembly of all orders of the state, the example of fathers and mothers, all conspire to train up a whole nation from their infancy in an impure and sacrilegious worship, under the name, and in a manner under the sanction of religion itself; as we shall soon see in the sequel.

After these general reflections upon Paganism, it is time to proceed to a particular account of the religion of the Greeks. I shall reduce this subject, though infinite in itself, to four articles; which are, 1. The feasts. 2. The oracles, augurs, and divinations. 3. The games and combats. 4. The public shews and representations of the theatre. In each of these articles, I shall treat only of what appears most worthy of the reader's curiosity, and has most relation to this history. I omit saying any thing of sacrifices, having given a sufficient idea of them \* elsewhere.

## ARTICLE I.

### *Of the feasts.*

**A**N infinite number of feasts were celebrated in the several cities of Greece, and especially at Athens; of which I shall only describe three of the most famous, the Panathenea, the feasts of Bacchus, and those of Eleusis.

### SECT. I. *The Panathenea.*

**T**HIS feast was celebrated at Athens in honour of Minerva, the tutelary goddess of that city, to which she gave her † name, as well as to the feast we speak of. Its institution was antient, and it was called at first *Athenea*; but after Theseus had united the several towns of Attica into one city, it took the name of *Panathenea*. These feasts were of two kinds, the great and the less, which were solemnized with almost the same ceremonies; the less annually, and the great upon the expiration of every fourth year.

In these feasts were exhibited racing, the gymnical combats, and the contentions for the prizes of music and poetry. Ten commissaries elected from the ten tribes presided on

\* Manner of teaching, &c. vol. I. † Ἀθηνᾶ.

this occasion to regulate the forms, and distribute the rewards to the victors. This festival continued several days.

The first day in the morning a race was run on foot, each of the runners carrying a lighted torch in his hand, which they exchanged continually with each other, without interrupting their race. They started from Ceramicus, one of the suburbs of Athens, and crossed the whole city. The first that came to the goal, without having put out his torch, carried the prize. In the afternoon they ran the same course on horseback.

The Gymnic, or Athletic combats, followed the races. The place for that exercise was upon the banks of the Ilissus, a small river, which runs through Athens, and empties itself into the sea at the Piræus.

Pericles instituted the prize of music. In this dispute were sung the praises of Harmodius and Aristogiton, who delivered Athens from the tyranny of the Pisistratides; to which was afterwards added the elogium of Thrasylulus, who expelled the thirty tyrants. These disputes were not only warm amongst the musicians, but much more so amongst the poets, and it was highly glorious to be declared victor in them. Æschylus is reported to have died with grief upon seeing the prize adjudged to Sophocles, who was much younger than himself.

These exercises were followed by a general procession, wherein a sail was carried with great pomp and ceremony, on which were curiously delineated the warlike actions of Pallas against the Titans and giants. That sail was affixed to a vessel, which was called by the name of the goddess. The vessel, equipped with sails and a thousand oars, was conducted from Ceramicus to the temple of Eleusis, not by horses or beasts of draught, but by machines concealed in the bottom of it, which put the oars in motion, and made the vessel glide along.

The march was solemn and majestic. At the head of it were old men, who carried olive branches in their hands, *παλλοποροι*; and these were chosen for the goodness of their shape, and the vigor of their complexion. Athenian matrons, of great age also, accompanied them in the same equipage.



The grown and robust men formed the second class. They were armed at all points, and had bucklers and lances. After them came the strangers that inhabited Athens, carrying mattocks, instruments proper for tillage. Next followed the Athenian women of the same age, attended by the foreigners of their own sex, carrying vessels in their hands for the drawing of water.

The third class was composed of the young persons of both sexes, and of the best families in the city. The youth wore vests, with crowns upon their heads, and sang a peculiar hymn in honour of the goddesses. The maids carried baskets, in which were placed the sacred utensils proper to the ceremony, covered with veils to keep them from the sight of the spectators. The person to whose care those sacred things were intrusted, was to have observed an exact continence for several days before he touched them, or distributed them to the Athenian virgins; \* or rather, as Demosthenes says, his whole life and conduct ought to have been a perfect model of virtue and purity. It was an high honour to a young woman to be chosen for so noble and august an office, and an insupportable affront to be deemed unworthy of it. We have seen, that Hipparchus treated the sister of Harmodius with this indignity, which extremely incensed the conspirators against the Pisistratides. These Athenian virgins were followed by the foreign young women, who carried umbrellas and seats for them.

The children of both sexes closed the pomp of the procession.

In this august ceremony, the *παῖδες* were appointed to sing certain verses of Homer; a manifest proof of their estimation for the works of that poet, even with regard to religion. Hipparchus, son of Pisistratus, first introduced that custom.

I have observed elsewhere, that, in the gymnastic games of this feast, an herald proclaimed, That the people of Athens had conferred a crown of gold upon the celebrated physician Hippocrates, in gratitude for the signal services which he had rendered the state during the pestilence.

*Οὐχὶ προεξημενοι ημερων αριθμον αγνευσιν μόνον, ἀλλὰ τὸν βίον ὅλον ἡγνεύεσθαι.* Demost. in extrema aristocratia,

In this festival, the people of Athens put themselves and the whole republic under the protection of Minerva, the tutelary goddess of their city, and implored of her all kind of prosperity. From the battle of Marathon, in these public acts of worship, express mention was made of the Plataeans, and they were joined in all things with the people of Athens.

## S E C T. II. *Feasts of Bacchus.*

THE worship of Bacchus had been brought out of Egypt to Athens, where several feasts had been established in honour of that god; two particularly, more remarkable than all the rest, called *the great* and *the less feasts of Bacchus*. The latter were a kind of preparation for the former, and were celebrated in the open field about autumn. They were named *Leneæ*, from a Greek word (a) that signifies a *wine-press*. The great feasts were commonly called *Dionysia*, from one of the names of that god (b), and were solemnized in the spring within the city.

In each of these feasts, the public were entertained with games, shows, and dramatic representations, which were attended with a vast concourse of people, and exceeding magnificence, as will be seen hereafter. At the same time, the poets disputed the prize of poetry, submitting to the judgment of arbitrators expressly chosen, their pieces, whether tragic or comic, which were then represented before the people.

These feasts continued many days. Those who were initiated, mimicked whatever the poets had thought fit to feign of the god Bacchus. They covered themselves with the skins of wild beasts, carried a thyrsus in their hands, a kind of pike with ivy-leaves twisted round it. They had drums, horns, pipes, and other instruments proper to make a great noise; and wore upon their heads wreaths of ivy and vine-branches, and of other trees sacred to Bacchus. Some represented Silenus, some Pan, others the Satyrs, all dressed in suitable masquerade. Many of them were mounted on asses; others dragged \* goats a-

(a) *Λενός*.

(b) *Dionysus*.

\* Goats were sacrificed because they spoiled the vines.

long for sacrifices. Men and women ridiculously transformed in this manner, appeared night and day in public; and imitating drunkenness, and dancing with the most indecent postures, ran in throngs about the mountains and forests, screaming and howling furiously; the women especially seemed more outrageous than the men; and quite out of their senses, in their \* furious transports, invoked the god, whose feast they celebrated, with loud cries: *εὐοι Βακχῆ*, or *ὦ'Ιανχῆ*, or *ὦ'Ιοβακχῆ*, or *ὦ'Ιω Βακχῆ*.

This troop of Bacchanalians was followed by the virgins of the noblest families in the city, who were called *κάρυες*, from carrying baskets on their heads, covered with vine and ivy leaves.

To these ceremonies others were added, obscene to the last excess, and worthy of the god who could be honoured in such a manner. The spectators were no schismatics: they gave into the prevailing humour, and were seized with the same frantic spirit. Nothing was seen but dancing, drunkenness, debauchery, and all that the most abandoned licentiousness could conceive of gross and abominable. And this an entire people, reputed the wisest of all Greece, not only suffered, but admired and practised. I say an entire people; for Plato †, speaking of the Bacchanals, says in direct terms, that he had seen the whole city of Athens drunk at once.

(c) Livy informs us, that this licentiousness of the Bacchanalians having secretly crept into Rome, the most horrid disorders were committed there, under the cover of the night; besides which, all persons who were initiated into these impure and abominable mysteries, were obliged, under the most horrid imprecations, to keep them inviolably secret. The senate being apprised of the affair, put a stop to those sacrilegious feasts by the most severe penalties; and first banished the practisers of them from Rome, and after-

(c) Liv. l. xxxix. n. 8. 18.

\* From this fury of the Bacchanalians, these feasts were called *Orgia*. *Οργή*, ira, furor.

† Πασαν ἐθίασαν τὴν πόλιν περὶ τὰ Διονυσια μεθύσσειν, Lib. i. de leg. p. 637.

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wards from Italy. These examples inform us \*, how far a mistaken sense of religion, that covers the greatest crimes with the sacred name of the Divinity, is capable of misleading the mind of man.

### SECT. III. *The feast of Eleusis.*

THERE is nothing in all the Pagan antiquity more celebrated than the feasts of Ceres Eleusina. The ceremonies of this festival were called, by way of eminence, *the mysteries*; from being, according to Pausanias, as much above all others as the gods are above men. Their origin and institution are attributed to Ceres herself; who, in the reign of Erechtheus, coming to Eleusis, a small town of Attica, in search of her daughter Proserpine, whom Pluto had carried away; and finding the country afflicted with a famine, she invented corn as a remedy for that evil, with which she rewarded the inhabitants. † She not only taught them the use of corn, but instructed them in the principles of probity, charity, civility, and humanity; from whence her mysteries were called *deumopopice* and *initia*. To these first happy lessons, fabulous antiquity ascribed the courtesy, politeness, and urbanity, so remarkable amongst the Athenians.

These mysteries were divided into the less and the greater; of which the former served as a preparation for the latter. The less were solemnized in the month Anthesterion, which answers to our November; the great in the month Boedromion, or August. Only Athenians were admitted to these mysteries; but of them each sex, age, and condition, had a right to be received. All strangers were absolutely excluded; so that Hercules, Castor, and Pollux, were

\* Nihil in speciem fallacius est quam prava religio, ubi deorum numen praetenditur sceleribus. Liv. l. xxxix. n. 16.

† Multa eximia divinaque videntur Athenae tuae peperisse, atque in vitam hominum attulisse; tum nihil melius illis mysteriis, quibus ex agresti immanique vita exculti ad humanitatem et mitigati sumus, initiaque ut appellantur, ita re vera principia vitae cognovimus. Cic. de leg. l. ii. n. 36.

Teque Ceres, et Libera, quarum sacra, sicut opiniones hominum ac religiones ferunt, longe maximis atque occultissimis ceremoniis continentur: a quibus initia vitae atque victus, legum, morum, mansuetudinis, humanitatis exempla hominibus et civitatibus data ac dispersita esse dicuntur. Id. Cic. in Ver. de supplic. n. 186.



## 10 MANNERS and CUSTOMS

obliged to be adopted by Athenians, in order to their admission; which however extended only to the lesser mysteries. I shall consider principally the great, which were celebrated at Eleusis.

Those who demanded to be initiated into them, were obliged, before their reception, to purify themselves in the lesser mysteries, by bathing in the river Ilissus, by saying certain prayers, offering sacrifices, and, above all, by living in a strict continence during an interval of time prescribed them. That time was employed in instructing them in the principles and elements of the sacred doctrine of the great mysteries.

When the time for their initiation arrived, they were brought into the temple; and, to inspire the greater reverence and terror, the ceremony was performed in the night. Wonderful things passed upon this occasion. Visions were seen, and voices heard, of an extraordinary kind. A sudden splendor dispelled the darkness of the place, and disappearing immediately, added new horrors to the gloom. Apparitions, claps of thunder, earthquakes, improved the terror and amazement; whilst the person admitted, stupid, sweating through fear, heard trembling the mysterious volumes read to him, if, in such a condition, he was capable of hearing at all. These nocturnal rites were attended with many disorders, which the severe law of silence imposed upon the persons initiated, prevented from coming to light, \* as St. Gregory Nazianzen observes. What cannot superstition effect upon the mind of man, when once his imagination is heated? The president in this ceremony was called *Hierophantes*. He wore a peculiar habit, and was not admitted to marry. The first who served in this function, and whom Ceres herself instructed, was Eumolpes; from whom his successors were called *Eumolpides*. He had three colleagues; (d) one who carried a torch; another an herald (e), whose office was, to pronounce certain mysterious words; and a third to attend at the altar.

(d) Δαδυχος. (e) Κρυξ.

\* Οιδεν Ἐλευσιν ταῦτα, καὶ οἱ τῶν σιωπῶμενων καὶ σιωπῆς οὐκ ἔχοντες ἔπονται. Orat. de sacr. lumin.

(f) La ert. l

Besides these officers, one of the principal magistrates of the city was appointed to take care that all the ceremonies of this feast were exactly observed. He was called *the King* (f), and was one of the nine archons. His business was, to offer prayers and sacrifices. The people gave him four assistants (g); one chosen from the family of Eumolpides, a second from that of the Cerycians, and the two last from two other families. He had, besides, ten other ministers to assist him in the discharge of his duty, and particularly in offering sacrifices, from whence they derived their name (h).

The Athenians initiated their children of both sexes very early into these mysteries, and would have thought it criminal to have let them die without such an advantage. It was their general opinion, that this ceremony was an engagement to lead a more virtuous and regular life; that it recommended them to the peculiar protection of the goddesses, to whose service they devoted themselves; and was the means to a more perfect and certain happiness in the other world: whilst, on the contrary, such as had not been initiated, besides the evils they had to apprehend in this life, were doomed, after their descent to the shades below, to wallow eternally in dirt, filth, and excrement. (i) Diogenes the Cynic believed nothing of the matter; and when his friends endeavoured to persuade him to avoid such a misfortune, by being initiated before his death: What! said he, shall Agefilaus and Epaminondas lie amongst mud and dung, whilst the vilest Athenians, because they have been initiated, possess the most distinguished places in the regions of the blessed? Socrates was not more credulous. He would not be initiated into these mysteries; which was perhaps one reason that rendered his religion suspected.

(k) Without this qualification none were admitted to enter the temple of Ceres; and Livy informs us of two Acarnanians, who, having followed the croud into it upon one of the feast-days, although out of mistake, and

(f) βασιλεὺς. (g) ἐπιμύληται. (h) ἱεροποιοί. (i) Diog. Laert. l. vi. p. 389. (k) Liv. l. xxxi. n. 14.

with no ill design, were both put to death without mercy. It was also a capital crime to divulge the secrets and mysteries of this feast. Upon this account Diagoras the Melian was proscribed, and had a reward set upon his head. He intended to have made the secret cost the poet Æschylus his life, from speaking too freely of it in some of his tragedies. The disgrace of Alcibiades proceeded from the same cause. \* Whoever had violated the secret, was avoided as a wretch accursed, and excommunicated. (1) Pausanias, in several passages, wherein he mentions the temple of Eleusis, and the ceremonies practised there, stops short, and declares he cannot proceed, because he had been forbidden by a dream or vision.

This feast, the most celebrated of profane antiquity, was of nine days continuance. It began the fifteenth of the month Boedromion. After some previous ceremonies and sacrifices on the first three days, upon the fourth in the evening began the procession of *the basket*; which was laid upon an open chariot slowly drawn by oxen †, and followed by great numbers of the Athenian women. They all carried mysterious baskets in their hands, filled with several things, which they took great care to conceal, and covered with a veil of purple. This ceremony represented the basket into which Proserpine put the flowers she was gathering, when Pluto seized and carried her off.

The fifth day was called *the day of the torches*; be-

(1) l. i. p. 26. & 71.

• " Est et fidei tanta silentio

" Merces. Vetabo qui Cereris sacrum

" Vulgarit arcanæ, sub iisdem

" Sit trabibus, fragilemque mecum

" Solvat phaselum."

HOR. od. 2. l. iii.

Safe is the silent tongue, which none can blame,

The faithful secret merit fame.

Beneath one roof ne'er let him rest with me,

Who Ceres' mysteries reveals;

In one frail bark ne'er let us put to sea,

Nor tempt the jarring winds with spreading sails.

† " Tarda que Eleusinae matris volventia plaustra."

VIRG. Geor. l. i. v. 163.

The Eleusinian mother's mystic car

Slow-rolling-----

cause at night the men and women ran about with them in imitation of Ceres, who having lighted a torch at the fire of mount *Ætna*, wandered about from place to place in search of her daughter.

The sixth was the most famous day of all. It was called *Iacchus*, the name of Bacchus, son of Jupiter and Ceres, whose statue was then brought out with great ceremony, crowned with myrtle, and holding a torch in its hand. The procession began at Ceramicus, and passing through the principal places of the city, continued to Eleusis. The way leading to it was called *the sacred way*, and lay cross a bridge over the river Cephissus. This procession was very numerous, and generally consisted of thirty thousand persons. (m) The temple of Eleusis, where it ended, was large enough to contain the whole multitude; and Strabo says, its extent was equal to that of theatres, which every body knows were capable of holding a much greater number of people. The whole way resounded with the sound of trumpets, clarions, and other musical instruments. Hymns were sung in honour of the goddesses, accompanied with dancing, and other extraordinary marks of rejoicing. The route before mentioned, through the sacred way, and over the Cephissus, was the usual way: but after the Lacedaemonians, in the Peloponnesian war, had fortified Decelia, the Athenians were obliged to make their procession by sea, till Alcibiades re-established the antient custom.

The seventh day was solemnized by games, and the gymnic combats, in which the victor was rewarded with a measure of barley, without doubt because it was at Eleusis the goddess first taught the method of raising that grain, and the use of it. The two following days were employed in some particular ceremonies, neither important nor remarkable.

During this festival it was prohibited, under very great penalties, to arrest any person whatsoever, in order to their being imprisoned, or to present any bill of complaint to the judges. It was regularly celebrated every

(m) Her. l. viii. c. 65. l. ix. p. 395.



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fifth year, that is, after a revolution of four years; and no history observes, that it was ever interrupted, except upon the taking of Thebes by Alexander the Great (n). The Athenians, who were then upon the point of celebrating the great mysteries, were so much affected with the ruin of that city, that they could not resolve, in so general an affliction, to solemnize a festival, which breathed nothing but merriment and rejoicing. (o) It was continued down to the time of the christian emperors; and Valentinian would have abolished it, if Praetextatus, the proconsul of Greece, had not represented, in the most lively and affecting terms, the universal sorrow which the abrogation of that feast would occasion among the people: upon which it was suffered to subsist. It is supposed to have been finally suppressed by Theodosius the great; as were all the rest of the Pagan solemnities.

### A R T I C L E II.

*Of augurs, oracles, &c.*

**N**OTHING is more frequently mentioned in antient history than oracles, augurs, and divinations. No war was made, or colony settled; nothing of consequence was undertaken, either public or private, without the gods being first consulted. This was a custom universally established amongst the Egyptian, Assyrian, Grecian, and Roman nations; which is no doubt a proof, as has been already observed, of its being derived from antient tradition, and that it had its origin in the religion and worship of the true God. It is not indeed to be questioned, but that God, before the deluge, did manifest his will to mankind in different methods, as he has since done to his people, sometimes in his own person, and *viva voce*, sometimes by the ministry of angels, or of prophets inspired by himself, and at other times by apparitions, or in dreams. When the descendants of Noah dispersed themselves into different regions, they carried this tradition along with them, which was every where retained, though altered and corrupted by the darkness and ignorance of idolatry. None of the

(n) Plut. in vit. Alex. p. 671.

(o) Zosim. hist. l. 4.

antients, have insisted more upon the necessity of consulting the gods on all occasions by augurs and oracles, than Xenophon; and he founds that necessity, as I have more than once observed elsewhere, upon a principle deduced from the most refined reason and discernment. He represents, in several places, that man of himself is very frequently ignorant of what is advantageous or pernicious to him; that far from being capable of penetrating the future, the present itself escapes him, so narrow and short-sighted is he in all his views; that the slightest obstacles can frustrate his greatest designs; that only the Divinity, to whom all ages are present, can impart a certain knowledge of the future to him; that no other being has power to facilitate the success of his enterprises; and that it is reasonable to believe he will guide and protect those who adore him with the purest affection, who invoke him at all times with greatest constancy and fidelity, and consult him with most sincerity and resignation.

#### SECT. I. *Of augurs.*

What a reproach is it to human reason, that so bright and luminous a principle should have given birth to the absurd reasonings and wretched notions in favour of the science of augurs and soothsayers, and been the occasion of espousing, with blind devotion, the most ridiculous puerilities? to make the most important affairs of state depend upon a bird's happening to sing upon the right or left hand; upon the greediness of chickens in pecking their grain, the inspection of the intrails of beasts; the livers being entire, and in good condition, which, according to them, did sometimes entirely disappear, without leaving any trace or mark of its having ever subsisted! To these superstitious observances may be added accidental rencounters, words spoken by chance, and afterwards turned into good or bad presages, forebodings, prodigies, monsters, eclipses, comets, every extraordinary phaenomenon, every unforeseen accident, with an infinity of chimaeras of the like nature.

Whence could it happen, that so many great men, il-

lustrious generals, able politicians, and even learned philosophers have actually given into such absurd imaginations? Plutarch, in particular, so estimable in other respects, is to be pitied for his servile observance of the senseless customs of the Pagan idolatry, and his ridiculous credulity in dreams, signs, and prodigies. He tells us somewhere, that he abstained a great while from eating eggs upon account of a dream, with which he has not thought fit to make us further acquainted.

The wisest of the Pagans did not want a just sense of the art of divination, and often spoke of it to each other, and even in public, with the utmost contempt, and in a manner sufficiently expressive of its ridicule. The grave censor Cato was of opinion, that one soothsayer could not look at another without laughing. Hannibal was amazed at the simplicity of Prusias, whom he had advised to give battle, upon his being diverted from it by the inspection of the intrails of a victim. What? said he, have you more confidence in the liver of a beast, than in so old and experienced a captain as I am? Marcellus, who had been five times consul, and was augur, said, that he had discovered a method of not being put to a stand by the sinister flight of birds, which was, to keep himself close shut up in his litter.

Cicero explains himself upon augury, without ambiguity or reserve. No body was more capable of speaking pertinently upon it than himself; as Mr. Morin observes in his dissertation upon the same subject. As he was adopted into the college of augurs, he had made himself acquainted with the most concealed of their secrets, and had all possible opportunity of informing himself fully in their science. That he did so, sufficiently appears from the two books he has left us upon Divination, in which it may be said, he has exhausted the subject. In his second, wherein he refutes his brother Quintus, who had espoused the cause of the augurs, he disputes and defeats his false reasonings with a force, and at the same time with so refined and delicate a raillery, as leaves us nothing to wish; and he demonstrates by proofs, that rise upon each other in

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their force, the falsity, contrariety, and impossibility of that art. \* But what is very surprising, in the midst of all his arguments, he takes occasion to blame the generals, and magistrates, who, on important conjunctures, had contemned the prognostics; and maintains, that the use of them, as great an abuse as it was in his own sense, ought nevertheless to be respected out of regard to religion, and the prejudice of the people.

All that I have hitherto said tends to prove, that Paganism was divided into two sects, almost equally enemies of religion; the one by their superstitious and blind regard for the augurs, the other by their irreligious contempt and derision of them.

The principle of the first, founded on one side upon the ignorance and weakness of man in the affairs of life, and on the other upon the prescience of the Divinity, and his almighty providence, was true; but the consequence deduced from it, in regard to the augurs, false and absurd. They ought to have proved, that it was certain, the Divinity himself had established these external signs to denote his intentions, and that he had obliged himself to a punctual conformity to them upon all occasions. But they had nothing of this kind in their system. The augurs and soothsayers therefore were the effect and invention of the ignorance, rashness, curiosity, and blind passions of man, who presumed to interrogate God, and would oblige him to give answers upon his every idle imagination and unjust enterprize.

The others, who gave no real credit to any thing, advanced by the science of the augurs, did not fail however to observe their trivial ceremonies out of policy, for the better subjecting the minds of the people to themselves, and to reconcile them to their own purposes by the affi-

\* Errabat multis in rebus antiquitas: quam vel usum jam, vel doctrinā, vel vetustate immutatam videmus. Retinetur autem et ad opinionem vulgi, et ad magnas utilitates reip. mos, religio, disciplina, jus augurum, collegii auctoritas. Nec vero non omni supplicio digni P. Claudius, L. Junius consules, qui contra auspicia navigarunt. Parandum enim fuit religioni, nec patrius mos tam contumaciter repudiandus. Divin. l. ii, n. 70, 71.



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stance of superstition: but by their contempt for the augurs, and the entire conviction of their falsity, they were led into a disbelief of the Divine providence, and to despise religion itself; conceiving it inseparable from the numerous absurdities of this kind, which rendered it ridiculous, and consequently unworthy of a man of sense.

Both the one and the other behaved in this manner, because having mistaken the Creator, and abused the light of nature, which might have taught them to know and to adore him, they were deservedly abandoned to their own darkness and absurd opinions; and if we had not been enlightened by the true religion, even at this day we might have given ourselves up to the same superstitions.

### SECT. II. *Of oracles.*

No country was ever richer in, or more productive of oracles than Greece. I shall confine myself to those which were the most noted.

The oracle of Dodona, a city of the Molossians, was much celebrated; where Jupiter gave answers either by vocal \* oaks, or doves, which had also their language, or by resounding basons of brass, or by the mouths of priests and priestesses.

(p) The oracles of Trophonius in Boeotia, though he was only a simple hero, were in great reputation. After many preliminary ceremonies, as washing in the river, offering sacrifices, drinking a water called *Lethe*, from its quality of making people forget every thing, the votaries went down into his cave by small ladders through a very narrow passage. At the bottom was another little cavern, of which the entrance was also exceeding small. There they lay down upon the ground, with a certain composition of honey in each hand, which they were indispensab-

(p) Pausan. l. ix. p. 602--604.

\* Certain instruments were fastened to the tops of oaks, which, being shaken by the wind, or by some other means, rendered a confused sound. Servius observes, that the same word in the Thessalian language signifies dove and prophetess, which had given room for the fabulous tradition of doves that spoke. It was easy to make those brazen basons sound by some secret means, and to give what signification they pleased to a confused inarticulate noise.

ly obliged to carry with them. Their feet were placed within the opening of the little cave; which was no sooner done, than they perceived themselves borne into it with great force and velocity. Futurity was there revealed to them; but not to all in the same manner. Some saw, others heard wonders. From thence they returned quite stupefied, and out of their senses, and were placed in the chair of Mnemosyne, goddess of memory; not without great need of her assistance to recover their remembrance, after their great fatigue, of what they had seen and heard; admitting they had seen or heard any thing at all. Pausanias, who had consulted that oracle himself, and gone through all these ceremonies, has left a most ample description of it; to which (q) Plutarch adds some particular circumstances, which I omit, to avoid a tedious prolixity.

(r) The temple and oracle of the Branchidae in the neighbourhood of Miletus, so called from Branchus the son of Apollo, was very antient, and in great esteem with all the Ionians and Dorians of Asia. Xerxes, in his return from Greece, burnt this temple, after the priests had delivered its treasures to him. That prince in return granted them an establishment in the remotest parts of Asia, to secure them against the vengeance of the Greeks. After the war was over, the Milesians re-established that temple with a magnificence, which, according to Strabo, surpassed that of all the other temples of Greece. When Alexander the Great had overthrown Darius, he utterly destroyed the city where the priests Branchidae had settled, of which their descendants were at that time in actual possession, punishing in the children the sacrilegious perfidy of their fathers.

(s) Tacitus relates something very singular, though not very probable, of the oracle of Claros, a town of Ionia in Asia Minor near Colophon. "Germanicus," says he, "went to consult Apollo at Claros. It is not a woman that gives the answers there as at Delphos, but a man, chosen out of certain families, and almost always of Milesians."

(q) Plut. de gen. Socr. p. 590. (r) Her. l. i. c. 157.; Strabo, l. xiv. p. 634. (s) Tacit. annal. l. ii. c. 54.

It suffices to let him know the number and names of those who come to consult him. After which he retires into a cave, and having drunk of the waters of a spring within it, he delivers answers in verse upon what the persons have in their thoughts, though he is often ignorant, and knows nothing of composing in measure. It is said, that he foretold to Germanicus his sudden death, but in dark and ambiguous terms, according to the custom of oracles."

I omit a great number of other oracles, to proceed to the most famous of them all. It is very obvious, that I mean the oracle of Apollo at Delphos. He was worshipped there under the name of *the Pythian*, derived from the serpent Python, which he had killed; or from a Greek word, that signifies to *enquire*, *ᾠοισάδαι*, because people came thither to consult him. From thence the Delphic priestess was called *Pythia*, and the games there celebrated *the Pythian games*.

Delphos was an antient city of Phocis in Achaia. It stood upon the declivity, and about the middle of the mountain Parnassus, built upon a small extent of even ground, and surrounded with precipices, that fortified it without the help of art. (t) Diodorus says, that there was a cavity upon Parnassus, from whence an exhalation rose, which made the goats dance and skip about, and intoxicated the brain. A shepherd having approached it, out of a desire to know the causes of so extraordinary an effect, was immediately seized with violent agitations of body, and pronounced words, which, without doubt, he did not understand himself; however, they foretold futurity. Others made the same experiment, and it was soon rumoured throughout the neighbouring countries. The cavity was no longer approached without reverence. The exhalation was concluded to have something divine in it. A priestess was appointed for the reception of its effects, and a tripod placed upon the vent, called by the Latins *Cortina*, perhaps from the skin (u) that covered it. From thence she gave her oracles. The city of Delphos rose insensibly round about this cave; where a temple was erec-

(t) Lib. xiv. p. 427, 428.

(u) Corium.

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ted, which at length became very magnificent. The reputation of this oracle almost effaced, or at least very much exceeded that of all others.

At first a single Pythia sufficed to answer those who came to consult the oracle, not yet amounting to any great number: but in process of time, when it grew into universal repute, a second was appointed to mount the tripod alternately with the first, and a third chosen to succeed in case of death, or disease. There were other assistants besides these to attend the Pythia in the sanctuary, of whom the most considerable were called *prophets* (x); it was their business to take care of the sacrifices, and to make the inspection into them. To these the demands of the inquiries were delivered either by word of mouth, or in writing, and they returned the answers, as we shall see in the sequel.

We must not confound the Pythia with the Sibyl of Delphos. The antients represent the latter as a woman, that roved from country to country, venting her predictions. She was at the same time the Sibyl of Delphos, Erythrae, Babylon, Cuma, and many other places, from her having resided in them all.

The Pythia could not prophesy till she was intoxicated by the exhalation from the sanctuary. This miraculous vapour had not the effect at all times and upon all occasions. The god was not always in the inspiring humour. At first he imparted himself only once a-year, but at length he was prevailed upon to visit the Pythia every month. All days were not proper, and upon some it was not permitted to consult the oracle. These unfortunate days occasioned an oracle's being given to Alexander the Great, worthy of remark. He was at Delphos to consult the god, at a time when the priests pretended it was forbid to ask him any questions, and would not enter the temple. Alexander, who was always warm and tenacious, took hold of her by the arm to force her into it, when she cried out, *Ah, my son, you are not to be resisted!* or, *My son, you are invincible!* upon which words he declared he would

(x) *προφηταις*.



have no other oracle, and was contented with what he had received.

The Pythia, before she ascended the tripod, was a long time preparing for it by sacrifices, purifications, a fast of three days, and many other ceremonies. The god denoted his approach by the moving of a laurel, that stood before the gate of the temple; which shook also to its very foundations.

As soon \* as the divine vapour, like a penetrating fire, had diffused itself through the intrails of the priestess, her hair stood upright upon her head, her looks grew wild and furious, she foamed at the mouth, a sudden and violent trembling seized her whole body, with all the † symptoms of distraction and frenzy. She uttered at intervals some words almost inarticulate, which the prophets carefully collected. After she had been a certain time upon the tripod, she was re-conducted to her cell, where she generally continued many days, to recover herself of her fatigue, and, as Lucretius says (y), a sudden death was often either the reward or punishment of her enthusiasm :

(y) Lib. v.

\* Cui talia fanti

Ante fores, subito non vultus, non color unus,  
Non comptæ mansere comæ : sed pectus anhelum  
Et rabie fera corda tument ; majorque videri,  
Nec mortale sonans, afflata est numine quando  
Jam propiore dei.

Virg. Æn. l. vi. v 46---51.

† Among the various marks which God has given us in the scriptures to distinguish his oracles from those of the devil, the fury or madness attributed by Virgil to the Pythia, "et rabie fera corda tument," is one. It is I, says God, that shew the falsehood of the diviner's predictions, and give to such as divine, the motions of fury and madness ; or, according to Isa. xlv. 25. "That frustrateth the tokens of the liars, and maketh diviners mad," Instead of which the prophets of the true God constantly gave the divine answers in an equal and calm tone of voice, and with a noble tranquillity of behaviour. Another distinguishing mark is, the daemons giving their oracles in secret places, by-ways, and in the obscurity of caves ; whereas God gave his in open day and before all the world : "I have not spoken in secret, in dark places of the earth, Isa. xlv. 19." "I have not spoken in secret from the beginning, Isa. xlviii. 16." So that God did not permit the devil to imitate his oracles, without imposing such conditions upon him, as might distinguish between the true and false inspiration.

(z)  
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dum,  
temper  
telligi.  
Croesus

*Numinis aut poena est mors immatura recepti,  
Aut pretium.*

The prophets had poets under them, who made the oracles into verses, which were often bad enough, and gave occasion to say, it was very surprising, that Apollo, who presided in the choir of the muses, should inspire his prophets no better. But Plutarch informs us, that the god did not compose the verses of the oracle. He inflamed the Pythia's imagination, and kindled in her soul that living light, which unveiled all futurity to her. The words she uttered in the heat of her enthusiasm, having neither method nor connexion, and coming only by starts, to use that expression, (z) from the bottom of her stomach, or rather from her belly, were collected with care by the prophets, who gave them afterwards to the poets to be turned into verse. These Apollo left to their own genius, and natural talents; as we may suppose he did the Pythia, when she composed verses, which though not often, happened sometimes. The substance of the oracle was inspired by Apollo, the manner of expressing it was the priestess's own: the oracles were however often given in prose.

The general characteristics of oracles were \* ambiguity, obscurity, and convertibility, (to use that expression), so that one answer would agree with several various, and sometimes directly opposite events. By the help of this artifice, the daemons, who of themselves are not capable of knowing futurity, concealed their ignorance, and amused the credulity of the Pagan world. When Croesus was upon the point of invading the Medes, he consulted the oracle of Delphos upon the success of that war, and was answered, that, by passing the river Halys, he would ruin a great empire. What empire, his own, or that of his enemies? He was to guess that; but whatever the event might be, the oracle could not fail of being in the right. As

(z) Ἐσχατρίμυθος.

\* Quod si aliquis dixerit multa ab idolis esse praedicta; hoc sciendum, quod semper mendacium junxerint veritati, et sic sententias temperarint, ut, seu boni seu mali quid accidisset, utrumque possit intelligi. Hieronym. in c. 42. Isaiac. He cites the two examples of Croesus and Pyrrhus.

much may be said upon the same god's answer to Pyrrhus,

*Ato te, Æacida, Romanos vincere posse.*

I repeat it in Latin, because the equivocality, which equally implies, that Pyrrhus could conquer the Romans, and the Romans Pyrrhus, will not subsist in a translation. Under the cover of such ambiguities, the god eluded all difficulties, and was never in the wrong.

It must however be confessed, that sometimes the answer of the oracle was clear and circumstantial. I have repeated, in the history of Croesus, the stratagem he made use of to assure himself of the veracity of the oracle, which was to demand of it by his ambassador, what he was doing at a certain time prefixed. The oracle of Delphos replied, that he was causing a tortoise and a lamb to be dressed in a vessel of brass; which was really so. (a) The Emperor Trajan made a like proof upon the god at Heliopolis, by sending him a letter \* sealed up, to which he demanded an answer. The oracle made no other return, than to command a blank paper, well folded and sealed, to be delivered to him. Trajan, upon the receipt of it, was struck with amazement to see an answer so correspondent with his own letter, in which he knew he had wrote nothing. The wonderful † facility with which daemons can transfer themselves almost in an instant from place to place, made it not impossible for them to give the two related answers, and seem to foretel in one country what they had seen in another; which is Tertullian's opinion.

Admitting it to be true, that some oracles have been followed precisely to the event foretold, we may believe, that God, to punish the blind and sacrilegious credulity of the Pagans, has sometimes permitted the daemons to have

(a) Macrob. l. i. Saturnal. c. 13.

\* It was customary to consult the oracle by sealed letters, which were laid upon the altar of the God unopened.

† Omnis spiritus ales. Hoc et angeli et daemones. Igitur momento ubique sunt: totus orbis illis locus unus est: quid ubi geratur tam facile sciunt quam enunciant. Velocitas divinitas creditur, quia substantia ignoratur. - Ceterum testudinem decoqui cum carnibus pedibus Pythius eo modo renunciavit, quo supra diximus. Momento apud Lydiam fuerat. Tertul. in Apolog.

a knowledge of things to come, and to foretell them distinctly enough. Which conduct of God, though very much above human comprehension, is frequently attested in the holy scriptures.

It has been questioned, whether the oracles mentioned in profane history, should be ascribed to the operations of daemons, or only to the malignity and imposture of men. Wandale, a Dutch physician, has maintained the latter; and Monsieur Fontenelle, when a young man, adopted that opinion, in the persuasion (to use his own words) that it was indifferent, as to the truth of Christianity, whether the oracles were the effect of the agency of spirits, or a series of impostures. Father Baltus the Jesuit, professor of the holy scriptures in the university of Strasburg, has refuted them both in a very solid piece, wherein he demonstrates invincibly, with the unanimous authority of the fathers, that the devils were the real agents in the oracles. He attacks, with equal force and success, the rashness and presumption of the Anabaptist physician, who, calling in question the capacity and discernment of the holy doctors, absurdly endeavours to efface the high idea all true believers have of those great leaders of the church, and to depreciate their venerable authority, which is so great a difficulty to all who deviate from the principles of antient tradition. And if that was ever certain and consentaneous in any thing, it is so in this point: for all the fathers of the church and ecclesiastical writers of all ages, maintain, and attest, that the devil was the author of idolatry in general, and of oracles in particular.

This opinion does not oppose the belief, that the priests and priestesses were frequently guilty of fraud and imposture in the answers of the oracles. For is not the devil the father and prince of lies? In the Grecian history we have seen more than once the Delphic priestess suffer herself to be corrupted by presents. It was from that motive, she persuaded the Lacedaemonians to assist the people of Athens in the expulsion of the thirty tyrants; that she caused Demaratus to be divested of the royal dignity to make

*If mi-  
oracles  
could be  
wrought  
by demons  
what evi-  
dence have  
we that  
the miracle  
in the  
scriptures  
were not  
affected by  
the same  
powers?*



way for Cleomenes; and dressed up an oracle to support the imposture of Lyfander, when he endeavoured to change the succession to the throne of Sparta. And I am apt to believe, that Themistocles, who well knew the importance of acting against the Persians by sea, inspired the god with the answer he gave, *to defend themselves with walls of wood.* (b) Demosthenes, convinced that the oracles were frequently suggested by passion or interest, and suspecting with reason, that Philip had instructed them to speak in his favour, boldly declared, that the Pythia *philippized*, and bade the Athenians and Thebans remember, that Pericles and Epaminondas, instead of listening to, and amusing themselves with the frivolous answers of the oracle, those idle bugbears of the base and cowardly, consulted only reason in the choice and execution of their measures.

The same father Baltus examines with equal success the cessation of oracles, a second point in the dispute. Mr. Wandale, to oppose with some advantage a truth so glorious to Jesus Christ, the subverter of idolatry, had falsified the sense of the fathers, by making them say, *that oracles ceased precisely at the moment of Christ's birth.* The learned apologist for the fathers shews, that they all allege oracles did not cease till after our Saviour's birth, and the preaching of his gospel; not on a sudden, but in proportion to his salutary doctrine's being known to mankind, and gaining ground in the world. This unanimous opinion of the fathers is confirmed by the unexceptionable evidence of great numbers of the Pagans, who agree with them as to the time when the oracles ceased.

What an honour to the Christian religion was this silence imposed upon the oracles by the victory of Jesus Christ! Every Christian had this power. (c) Tertullian, in one of his apologies, challenges the Pagans to make the experiment, and consents, that a Christian should be put to death, if he did not oblige these givers of oracles to confess themselves devils. (d) Lactantius informs us, that every Christian could silence them by only the sign of the cross. And all the world knows, that when Julian the

(b) Plut. in Demosth. p. 854. (c) Tertull. in apolog. (d) Lib. de vera sapient. c. 27.

apostate was at Daphne, a suburb of Antioch, to consult Apollo, the god, notwithstanding all the sacrifices offered to him, continued mute, and only recovered his speech to answer those who inquired the cause of his silence, that they must ascribe it to the interment of certain bodies in the neighbourhood. Those were the bodies of Christian martyrs, amongst which was that of St. Babylas.

This triumph of the Christian religion ought to give us a due sense of our obligations to Jesus Christ, and at the same time of the darkness to which all mankind were abandoned before his coming \*. We have seen amongst the Carthaginians, fathers and mothers, more cruel than wild beasts, inhumanly giving up their children, and annually depopulating their cities, by destroying the most florid of their youth, in obedience to the bloody dictates of their oracles and false gods. The victims were chosen without any regard to rank, sex, age, or condition. Such bloody executions were honoured with the name of *sacrifices*, and designed to make the gods propitious. What greater evil, cries Lactantius, could they inflict in their most violent displeasure, than to deprive their adorers of all sense of humanity, to make them cut the throats of their own children, and pollute their sacrilegious hands with such execrable parricides ?

A thousand frauds and impostures, openly detected at Delphos, and every where else, had not opened mens eyes, nor in the least diminished the credit of the oracles, which subsisted upwards of two thousand years, and was carried to an inconceivable height, even in the sense of the greatest men, the most profound philosophers, the most powerful princes, and generally amongst the most civilized nati-

\* Tam barbaros, tam immanes fuisse homines, ut parricidium suum, est, tetrum atque execrabile humano generi facinus, sacrificium vocarent. Cum teneras atque innocentes animas, quae maxime est etas parentibus dulcior, sine ullo respectu pietatis extinguerent, immanitatemque omnium bestiarum, quae tamen foetus suos amant, eritate superarent. O dementiam insanabilem ! Quid illis isti dii amplius facere possent si essent iratissimi quam faciunt propitii ? cum suos ultores parricidiis inquinant, orbitatibus mactant, humanis sensibus poliant. Lactant. l. i. c. 21.

*The last  
paragraph  
indicates  
a darkness  
the same  
in kind  
the diff.  
in mode.*

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ons, and such as valued themselves most upon their wisdom and policy. The estimation they were in, may be judged from the magnificence of the temple of Delphos, and the immense riches amassed in it, through the superstitious credulity of nations and monarchs.

(e) The temple of Delphos having been burnt about the fifty-eighth Olympiad, the Amphietyons, those celebrated judges of Greece, took upon themselves the care of rebuilding it. They agreed with an architect for three hundred talents, which amounts to nine hundred thousand livres. The cities of Greece were to furnish that sum. The inhabitants of Delphos were taxed a fourth part of it, and made gatherings in all parts, even in foreign nations, for that service. Amasis, at that time King of Egypt, and the Grecian inhabitants of his country, contributed considerable sums towards it. The Alcmeonides, a potent family of Athens, were charged with the conduct of the building, and made it more magnificent by considerable additions of their own, than had been proposed in the model.

Gyges, King of Lydia, and Croesus, one of his successors, enriched the temple of Delphos with an incredible number of presents. Many other princes, cities, and private persons, by their example, in a kind of emulation of each other, had heaped up in it tripods, vessels, tables, shields, crowns, chariots, and statues of gold and silver of all sizes, equally infinite in number and value. The presents of gold which Croesus only made to this temple, amounted, according to Herodotus (f), to upwards of 254 talents; that is, about 762,000 French livres \*: and perhaps those of silver to as much. Most of those presents were in being in the time of Herodotus. (g) Diodorus Siculus, adding those of other princes to them, makes their amount ten thousand talents, or thirty millions of livres †.

(h) Amongst the statues of gold consecrated by Croesus in the temple of Delphos, was placed that of a female baker; of which this was the occasion. Alyattus, Croe-

(e) Her. l. ii. c. 180. et l. v. c. 62.

(f) Her. l. i. c. 50, 51.

(g) Diod. l. xvi. p. 453.

(h) Plut. de Pyth. orac. p. 401.

\* About 33,500 l. Sterling.

† About 1,300,000 l.

Croesus's father, having married a second wife, by whom he had children, she contrived to get rid of her son-in law, that the crown might descend to her own issue. For this purpose she engaged the female baker to put poison into a loaf, that was to be served at the young prince's table. The woman, who was struck with horror at the crime, (in which she ought to have had no part at all), gave Croesus notice of it. The poisoned loaf was served to the Queen's own children, and their death secured the crown to the lawful successor. When he ascended the throne, in gratitude to his benefactress, he erected a statue to her in the temple of Delphos. But may we conclude, that a person of so mean a condition could deserve so great an honour? Plutarch answers in the affirmative, that with a much better title, he says, than many of the so much vaunted conquerors and heroes, who have acquired their fame only by murder and devastation.

It is not to be wondered, that such immense riches should tempt the avarice of mankind, and expose Delphos to being frequently pillaged. Without mentioning more ancient times, Xerxes, who invaded Greece with a million of men, endeavoured to seize upon the spoils of this temple. Above an hundred years after, the Phoceans, near neighbours of Delphos, plundered it at several times. The same rich booty was the sole motive of the irruption of the Gauls into Greece under Brennus. The guardian god of Delphos, if we may believe historians, sometimes defended his temple by surprising prodigies, and at others, either through incapacity or confusion, suffered himself to be plundered. When Nero made this temple, so famous throughout the universe, a visit, and found in it five hundred fine brass statues of illustrious men and gods to his liking, which had been consecrated to Apollo, (those of gold and silver having undoubtedly disappeared upon his approach), he ordered them to be taken down, and shipping them on board his vessels, carried them with him to Rome.

Those who would be more particularly informed concerning the oracles and riches of the temple of Delphos, may consult some dissertations upon them, printed in the



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Memoirs of the academy of belles lettres (i); of which I have made good use, according to my custom.

## ARTICLE III.

### *Of the games and combats.*

**G**AMES and combats made a part of the religion, and had a share in almost all the festivals of the antients; and for that reason it is proper to treat of them in this place. Whether we consider their origin, or the design of their institution, we shall not be surpris'd at their being so much practis'd in the best governed states.

Hercules, Theseus, Castor, and Pollux, and the greatest heroes of antiquity, were not only the institutors or restorers of them, but thought it glorious to share in the exercise of them, and meritorious to succeed therein. The subduers of monsters, and of the common enemies of mankind, thought it no disgrace to them, to aspire at the victories in these combats; not that the new wreaths with which their brows were incircled in the solemnization of these games, took any lustre from those they had before acquired. Hence the most famous poets made these combats the subject of their verses; the beauty of whose poetry, whilst it immortalized themselves, seem'd to promise an eternity of fame to those whose victories it so divinely celebrated. Hence arose that uncommon ardor, which animated all Greece to imitate the antient heroes, and, like them, to signalize themselves in the public combats.

A reason more solid, which results from the nature of these combats, and of the people who us'd them, may be given for their prevalence. The Greeks, by nature warlike, and equally intent upon forming the bodies and minds of their youth, introduced these exercises, and annexed honours to them, in order to prepare the younger sort for the profession of arms, to confirm their health, to render them stronger and more robust, to inure them to fatigues, and to make them intrepid in close fight, in which, the use of fire-arms being then unknown, the strength of body generally decid'd the victory. These athletic exercises

(i) Vol. iii.

supplied the place of those in use amongst our nobility, as dancing, fencing, riding the great horse, &c. but they did not confine themselves to a graceful mien, nor to the beauties of a shape and face: they were for joining strength to the charms of person.

It is true, these exercises, so illustrious by their founders, and so useful in the ends at first proposed from them, introduced public masters, who taught them to young persons, and practising them with success, made public shew and ostentation of their skill. This sort of men applied themselves solely to the practise of this art; and carrying it to an excess, they formed it into a kind of science, by the addition of rules and refinements; often challenging each other, out of a vain emulation, till at length they degenerated into a profession of people, who, without any other employment or merit, exhibited themselves as a sight for the diversion of the public. Our dancing-masters are not unlike them in this respect, whose natural and original designation was, to teach youth a graceful manner of walking, and a good address: but now we see them mount the stage, and perform ballets, in the garb of comedians, capering, jumping, skipping, and making variety of strange and unnatural motions. We shall see, in the sequel, what opinion the ancients had of their professed combatants and wrestling-masters.

There were four kinds of games solemnized in Greece. The *Olympic*, so called from Olympia, otherwise Pisa, a town of Elis, in Peloponnesus, near which they were celebrated, after the expiration of every four years, in honour of Jupiter Olympicus. The *Pythic*, sacred to Apollo \* Pythius, so called from the serpent Python killed by him; they were also celebrated every four years. The *Nemæan*, which took their name from Nemæa, a city and forest of Peloponnesus, and were either instituted or restored by Hercules, after he had slain the lion of the Nemæan forest. They were solemnized every two years. And, lastly, the *Isthmian*, celebrated upon the Isthmus of Corinth, from four years to four years, in honour of Nep-

\* Several reasons are given for this name,

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tune. (k) Theseus was the restorer of them, and they continued even after the ruin of Corinth. That persons might be present at these public sports with greater quiet and security, there was a general suspension of arms, and cessation of hostilities, throughout all Greece, during the time of their celebration.

In these games, which were solemnized with incredible magnificence, and drew together a prodigious concourse of spectators from all parts, a simple wreath was all the reward of the victors. In the Olympic games it was composed of wild olive; in the Pythic, of laurel; in the Nemaean, of green parsley (l); and in the Isthmian, of the same herb. The institutors of these games, implied from thence, that only honour, and not mean and sordid interest, ought to be the motive of great actions. Of what were men not capable, accustomed to act solely from so glorious a principle! (m) We have seen in the Persian war, that Tigranes, one of the most considerable captains in the army of Xerxes, having heard the prizes in the Grecian games described, cried out with astonishment, addressing himself to Mardonius, who commanded in chief: \* *Heavens! against what men are you leading us! Insensible to interest, they combat only for glory!* Which exclamation, though looked upon by Xerxes as an effect of abject fear, abounds with sense and judgment.

(n) It was from the same principle the Romans, whilst they bestowed upon other occasions crowns of gold of great value, persisted always in giving only a wreath of oaken leaves to him who saved the life of a citizen. "Oh! manners worthy of eternal remembrance!" cries Pliny, in relating this laudable custom. "Oh! grandeur truly Roman, that would assign no other reward but honour, for the preservation of a citizen! A service indeed above all reward; thereby sufficiently arguing it their opinion, that it was criminal to save man's life from the motive of lucre and interest!" *O mores aeternos, qui tanta opera honore solo donaverint; et cum reliquis coronas*

(k) Paus. l. ii. p. 88. (l) Apium. (m) Her. l. viii. c. 88. (n) Plin. l. xvi. c. 4.

\* Παται, Μαρδονιε, κοινους επ' ανδρας ηγαγες μαχισμενους ημας, οι υ περι χρηματων τον αγωνα ποιουνται, αλλα περι αρετης.

*auro commendarent, salutem civis in pretio esse noluerint, clara professione servari quidem hominem nefas esse lucri causa!*

Amongst all the Grecian games, the Olympic held undeniably the first rank; and that for three reasons. They were sacred to Jupiter, the greatest of the gods; instituted by Hercules, the first of the heroes; and celebrated with more pomp and magnificence, amidst a greater concourse of spectators from all parts, than any of the rest.

(o) If Pausanias may be believed, women were prohibited to be present at them upon pain of death; and, during their continuance, it was ordained, that no woman should approach the place where the games were celebrated, or pass on that side of the river Alpheus. One only was so bold as to violate this law, and slipt in disguise amongst the combatants. She was tried for the offence, and would have suffered for it according to the law, if the judges, in regard to her father, her brother, and her son, who had all been victors in the Olympic games, had not pardoned her offence, and saved her life.

This law was very conformable with the Grecian manners, amongst whom the ladies were very reserved; seldom appeared in public, had separate apartments, called *Gynaecæa*, and never eat at table with the men when strangers were present. It was certainly inconsistent with decency, to admit them at some of the games, as those of wrestling, and the Pancratium, in which the combatants fought naked.

(p) The same Pausanias tells us in another place, that the priestesses of Ceres had an honourable seat in these games, and that virgins were not denied the liberty of being present at them. For my part, I cannot conceive the reason of such inconsistency, which indeed seems incredible.

The Greeks thought nothing comparable to the victory in these games. They looked upon it as the perfection of glory, and did not believe it permitted to mortals to desire any thing beyond it. \* Cicero assures us, that with

(o) Paus. l. v. p. 297.

(p) Lib. vi. p. 382.

\* Olympiorum victoria Graecis consulatus ille antiquus videbatur. Tusc. Quæst. l. ii. n. 41.



them it was no less honourable than the consular dignity, in its original splendor, with the antient Romans. And in another place he says, that \* to conquer at Olympia, was almost, in the sense of the Grecians, more great and glorious, than to receive the honour of a triumph at Rome. Horace speaks in still stronger terms upon this kind of victory. † He is not afraid to say, that *it exalts the victor above human nature; they were no longer men but gods.*

We shall see hereafter what extraordinary honours were paid to the victor, of which one of the most affecting was, to date the year with his name. Nothing could more effectually enliven their endeavours, and make them regardless of expences, than the assurance of immortalizing their names, which, for the future, would be annexed to the calendar, and in the front of all laws made in the same year with the victory. To this motive may be added the joy of knowing, that their praises would be celebrated by the most famous poets, and share in the entertainment of the most illustrious assemblies: for these odes were sung in every house, and had a part in every entertainment. What could be a more powerful incentive to a people, who had no other object and aim than that of human glory!

I shall confine myself upon this head to the Olympic games, which continued five days; and shall describe, in as brief a manner as possible, the several kinds of combats of which they were composed. Mr. Burette has treated this subject in several dissertations, printed in the Memoirs of the academy of belles letters; wherein purity, perspicuity, and elegance of style are united with profound erudition. I make no scruple in appropriating to my use the riches of my brethren; and, upon this subject of the Olympic games, have made very free with the late Abbé Massieu's remarks upon the odes of Pindar.

\* Olympionicam esse apud Graecos prope majus fuit et gloriosius, quam Romae triumphasse. Pro Flacco, n. 31.

† ----- Palmaque nobilis

Terrarum dominos evehit ad deos. Od. 1. lib. i.

Sive quos Elea domum reducit

Palma coelestes.

Od. 2. lib. iv.

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The combats which had the greatest share in the solemnity of the public games, were boxing, wrestling, the Pancratiū, the discus, or quoit, and racing. To these may be added the exercises of leaping, throwing the dart, and that of the trochus or wheel: but as these were neither important, nor of any great reputation, I shall content myself with having only mentioned them in this place. For the better methodizing the particulars of these games and exercises, it will be necessary to begin with an account of the Athletæ or combatants.

SECT. I. *Of the Athletæ, or combatants.*

THE term *athletæ* is derived from the Greek word ἀθλος, which signifies *labour, combat*. This name was given to those who exercised themselves with design to dispute the prizes in the public games. The art by which they formed themselves for these encounters, was called *gymnastic*, from the Athletæ practising naked.

Those who were designed for this profession, frequented, from their most tender age, the Gymnasia or Palæstræ, which were a kind of academies, maintained for that purpose at the public expence. In these places such young people were under the direction of different masters, who employed the most effectual methods to inure their bodies for the fatigues of the public games, and to form them for the combats. The regimen they were under was very hard and severe. At first they had no other nourishment but dried figs, nuts, soft cheese, and a gross heavy sort of bread, called μαζα. They were absolutely forbid the use of wine, and enjoined continence; which Horace expresses thus (q):

*Qui studet optatam cursu contingere metam,  
Multa tulit fecitque puer, sudavit et alsit,  
Abstinit venere et vino.*

Who in th' Olympic race, the prize would gain,  
Has borne from early youth fatigue and pain,  
Excess of heat and cold has often try'd,  
Love's softness banish'd, and the glass deny'd.

(q) Art. Poet. v. 412.

St. Paul, by an allusion to the Athletæ, exhorts the Corinthians, near whose city the Isthmian games were celebrated, to a sober and penitent life. *Those who strive, says he, for the mastery, are temperate in all things; now they do it to obtain a corruptible crown, but we an incorruptible.* \* Tertullian uses the same thought to encourage the martyrs. He makes a comparison from what the hopes of a victory made the Athletæ endure. He repeats the severe and painful exercises they were obliged to undergo; the continual anguish and constraint in which they passed the best years of their lives, and the voluntary privation, which they imposed upon themselves, of all that was most affecting and grateful to their passions. It is true, the Athletæ did not always observe so severe a regimen, but at length substituted in its stead a voracity and indolence extremely remote from it.

The Athletæ, before their exercises, were rubbed with oils and ointments, to make their bodies more supple and vigorous. At first they made use of a belt, with an apron or scarf fastened to it, for their more decent appearance in the combats; but one of the combatants happening to lose the victory by his covering's falling off, that accident was the occasion of sacrificing modesty to convenience, and retrenching the apron for the future. The Athletæ were only naked in some exercises, as wrestling, boxing, the pancratium, and the foot race. They practised a kind of noviciate in the Gymnasia for ten months, to accomplish themselves in the several exercises by assiduous application; and this they did in the presence of such as curiosity or idleness conducted to look on. But when the celebration of the Olympic games drew nigh, the Athletæ, who were to appear in them, were kept to double exercise.

Before they were admitted to combat, other proofs were required. As to birth, none but Greeks were to be received. It was also necessary, that their manners should be unexceptionable, and their condition free. No stranger

\* *Nempe enim et Athletæ segregantur ad strictiorem disciplinam, ut robori aedificando vacent; continentur a luxuria, a cibis laetioribus, a potu jucundiore; coguntur, cruciantur, fatigantur. Tertul. ad marty.*

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was admitted to combat in the Olympic games; and when Alexander, the son of Amyntas King of Macedon, presented himself to dispute the prize, his competitors, without any regard to the royal dignity, opposed his reception as a Macedonian, and consequently a barbarian and a stranger; nor could the judges be prevailed upon to admit him, till he had proved in due form his family originally descended from the Argives.

The persons who presided in the games, called *Agonothetae*, *Athlothetae*, and *Hellandoticae*, registered the name and country of each champion; and upon the opening of the games, an herald proclaimed the names of the combatants. They were then made to take an oath, that they would religiously observe the several laws prescribed in each kind of combat, and to do nothing contrary to the established orders and regulations of the games. Fraud, artifice, and excessive violence, were absolutely prohibited; and the maxim so generally received elsewhere, That it is indifferent whether an enemy is conquered by deceit or valour, was banished from these combats. The address of a combatant, expert in all the turns of his art, who knew how to shift and fence dexterously, to put the change upon his adversary with art and subtlety, and to improve the least advantages, must not be confounded here with the cowardly and knavish cunning of one, who, without regard to the laws prescribed, employs the most unfair means to vanquish his competitor. Those who disputed the prize in the several kinds of combats, drew lots for their precedence in them.

It is time to bring our champions to blows, and to run over the different kinds of combats in which they exercised themselves.

## SECT. II. *Of wrestling.*

WRESTLING is one of the most antient exercises of which we have any knowledge, having been practised in the time of the Patriarchs, as the wrestling of the angel with Jacob proves (r). Jacob supported the angel's attack so

(r) Gen. xxxii. 24.



vigorously, that, perceiving he could not throw so rough a wrestler, he was reduced to make him lame by touching the sinew of his thigh, which immediately shrunk up.

Wrestling among the Greeks, as well as other nations, was practised at first with simplicity, little art, and in a natural manner; the weight of the body, and the strength of the muscles having more share in it, than address and skill. Theseus was the first that reduced it to method, and refined it with rules of art. He was also the first who established the public schools, called *Palæstræ*, where the young people had masters to instruct them in it.

The wrestlers, before they began their combats, were rubbed all over in a rough manner, and afterwards anointed with oils, which added to the strength and flexibility of their limbs. But as this unctio, in making the skin too slippery, rendered it difficult for them to take good hold of each other, they remedied that inconvenience, sometimes by rolling themselves in the dust of the *Palæstræ*, sometimes by throwing a fine sand upon each other, kept for that purpose in the *Xystæ*, or porticos of the *Gymnasia*.

Thus prepared, the wrestlers began their combat. They were matched two against two, and sometimes several couples contended at the same time. In this combat, the whole aim and design of the wrestlers was to throw their adversary upon the ground. Both strength and art were employed to this purpose: they seized each other by the arms, drew forwards, pushed backwards, used many distortions and twistings of the body; locking their limbs into each other's, seizing by the neck, throttling, pressing in their arms, struggling, plying on all sides, lifting from the ground, dashing their heads together like rams, and twisting one another's necks. The most considerable advantage in the wrestler's art, was to make himself master of his adversary's legs, of which a fall was the immediate consequence. From whence Plautus says in his *Pseudolus*, speaking of wine, \* *He is a dangerous wrestler, he presently takes one by the heels*. The Greek terms *ὑποσκηλίζειν*, and *πτερνίζειν*, and the Latin word *supplantare*, seem to imply, that one

\* Captat pedes primum, luctator dolosus est.

of these arts consisted in stooping down to seize the antagonist under the soles of his feet, and in raising them up to give him the fall.

In this manner the *Athletæ* wrestled standing, the combat ending with the fall of one of the competitors. But when it happened that the wrestler, who was down, drew his adversary along with him, either by art or accident, the combat continued upon the sand, the antagonists tumbling and twining with each other, in a thousand different ways, till one of them got uppermost, and compelled the other to ask quarter, and confess himself vanquished. There was a third sort of wrestling, called, *απο χειρῶν*, from the *Athletæ* using only their hands to it, without taking hold of the body as in the other kinds; and this exercise served as a prelude to the greater combat. It consisted in intermingling their fingers, in squeezing them with all their force; in pushing one another by joining the palms of their hands together; in twisting their fingers, wrists, and other joints of the arm, without the assistance of any other member; and the victory was his who obliged his opponent to ask quarter.

The combatants were to fight three times successively, and to throw their antagonist at least twice, before the prize could be adjudged to them.

(s) Homer describes the wrestling of Ajax and Ulysses; Ovid, that of Hercules and Achelous; Lucan, of Hercules and Antæus; and the *Thebaid* of Statius, of Tydens and Argylleus.

The wrestlers of greatest reputation amongst the Greeks, were Milo of Croton, whose history I have related elsewhere at large, and Polydamas. The latter, alone and without arms, killed a furious lion upon mount Olympus, in imitation of Hercules, whom he proposed to himself as a model in this action. Another time, having seized a bull by one of his hind legs, the beast could not get loose without leaving his hoof in his hands.

He could hold a chariot behind, whilst the coachman whipt

(s) *Iliad*. l. xxiii. v. 708. &c.; *Ovid. Metam.* l. ix. v. 31. &c.; *Pharal.* l. iv. v. 612.; *Stat.* l. vi. v. 147.

his horses in vain to make them go forwards. Darius Nothus King of Persia, hearing of his prodigious strength, was desirous of seeing him, and invited him to Susa. Three soldiers of that prince's guard, and of that band which the Persians called *immortal*, esteemed the most warlike of their troops, were ordered to fall upon him. Our champion fought and killed them all three.

### SECT. III. *Of boxing, or the cestus.*

BOXING is a combat at handy-blows, from whence it derives its name. The combatants covered their fists with a kind of offensive arms called *cestus*, and their heads with a sort of leather cap, to defend their temples and ears, which were most exposed to blows, and to deaden their violence. The cestus was a kind of gauntlet or glove, made of straps of leather, and plated with brass, lead, or iron, within side. Their use was, to strengthen the hands of the combatants, and to add violence to their blows.

Sometimes the Athletæ came immediately to the most violent blows, and began with charging in the most furious manner. Sometimes whole hours passed in harassing and fatiguing each other, by a continual extension of their arms; rendering each others blows ineffectual, and endeavouring, in that manner of defence, to keep off their adversary. But when they fought with the utmost fury, they aimed chiefly at the head and face, which parts they were most careful to defend, by either avoiding or catching the blows made at them. When a combatant came on to throw himself with all his force and vigor upon another, they had a surprising address in avoiding the attack, by a nimble turn of the body, which threw the imprudent adversary down, and deprived him of the victory.

However fierce the combatants were against each other, their being exhausted, by the length of the combat, would frequently reduce them to the necessity of making a truce. Upon which the battle was suspended for some minutes, that were employed in recovering their fatigue, and rubbing off the sweat in which they were bathed. After which they renewed the fight, till one of them, by letting fall his

arms through weakness, or by swooning away, explained, that he could no longer support the pain or fatigue, and desired quarter; which was confessing himself vanquished.

Boxing was one of the rudest and most dangerous of the gymnastic combats; because, besides the danger of being crippled, the combatants ran the hazard of their lives. They sometimes fell down dead, or dying, upon the sand; though that seldom happened, except the vanquished person persisted too long in not acknowledging his defeat; yet it was common for them to quit the fight with a countenance so disfigured, that it was not easy to know them afterwards; carrying away with them the sad marks of their vigorous resistance, such as bruises and contusions in the face, the loss of an eye, their teeth knocked out, their jaws broken, or some more considerable fracture.

We find in the poets, both Latin and Greek, several descriptions of this kind of combat. In Homer, that of Epeus and Euryalus; (t) in Theocritus, of Pollux and Amycus; in Apollonius Rhodius, the same battle of Pollux and Amycus; in Virgil, that of Dares and Entellus; and in Statius and Valerius Flaccus, of several other combatants.

#### SECT. IV. *Of the pancratiū.*

The pancratiū (u) was so called, from two Greek words, which signify that the whole force of the body was necessary for succeeding in it. It united boxing and wrestling in the same fight, borrowing from one its manner of struggling and flinging; and from the other, the art of dealing blows, and of avoiding them with success. In wrestling it was not permitted to strike with the hand, nor in boxing to seize each other in the manner of the wrestlers: but in the pancratiū, it was not only allowed to make use of all the grips and artifices of wrestling, but the hands and feet, and even the teeth and nails, might be employed to conquer an antagonist.

This combat was the most rude and dangerous. A pan-

(t) Dioscor. Idyl. 22.; Argonautic. l. ii.; Æneid. l. i. Thebaid. l. vi.; Argonaut. l. iv. (u) Παν κρατος.



cratist in the Olympic games, (called *Arrichion*, or *Arrachion*), perceiving himself almost suffocated by his adversary, who had got fast hold of him by the throat, at the same time that he held him by the foot, broke one of his enemy's toes, the extreme anguish of which obliged him to ask quarter, at the very instant *Arrichion* himself expired. The *Agonothetae* crowned *Arrichion*, though dead, and proclaimed him victor. Philostratus has left us a very lively description of a painting which represented this combat.

SECT. V. *Of the discus, or quoit.*

The discus was a kind of quoit of a round form, made sometimes of wood, but more frequently of stone, lead, or other metal; as iron, or brass. Those who used this exercise were called *Discoboli*, that is, flingers of the discus. The epithet *κατωμαδιος*, which signifies *borne upon the shoulders*, given this instrument by Homer, sufficiently shews, that it was of too great a weight to be carried from place to place in the hands only, and that the shoulders were necessary for the support of such a burden any space of time.

The intent of this exercise, as of almost all the others, was to invigorate the body, and to make it more capable of supporting the weight and use of arms. In war they were often obliged to carry such loads as appear excessive in these days, either of provisions, fascines, palisades, or in scaling of walls, when, to equal the height of them, several of the besiegers mounted upon the shoulders of each other.

The *Athletae*, in hurling the discus, put themselves into the best posture they could, to add force to their cast. They advanced one foot, upon which leaning the whole weight of their bodies, they poised the discus in their hands, and then whirling it round several times almost horizontally, to add force to its motion, they threw it off with the joint strength of hands, arms, and body, which had all a share in the vigor of the discharge. He that flung the discus farthest was the victor.

The most famous painters and sculptors of antiquity, in their endeavours to represent naturally the attitudes of the *Discoboli*, have left posterity many masterpieces in their

several arts. Quintilian exceedingly extols a statue of that kind, which had been finished with infinite care and application by the celebrated Myron : \* *What can be more finished, or express more happily the muscular distortions of the body in the exercise of the discus, than the Discobolus of Myron?*

# SECT. VI. *Of the pentathlum.*

The Greeks gave this name to an exercise composed of five others. It was the common opinion, that those five exercises were wrestling, running, leaping, throwing the dart, and the discus. It was believed, that this sort of combat was decided in one day, and sometimes the same morning; and that the prize, which was single, could not be given but to the victor in all those exercises.

The exercise of leaping, and throwing the javelin, of which the first consisted in leaping a certain length, and the other in hitting a mark with a javelin at a certain distance, contributed to the forming of a soldier, by making him nimble and active in battle, and expert in flinging the spear and dart.

# SECT. VII. *Of races.*

OF all the exercises which the Athletæ cultivated with so much pains and industry, for their appearance in the public games, running was in the highest estimation, and held the foremost rank. The Olympic games generally opened with races, and were solemnized at first with no other exercise.

The place where the Athletæ exercised themselves in running, was generally called the † *stadium* by the Greeks; as was that wherein they disputed in earnest for the prize. As the lists or course for these games was at first but one

\* Quid tam distortum et elaboratum, quam est ille Discobolus Myronis? Quintil. l. ii. c. 13.

† The stadium was a land-measure amongst the Greeks, and was, according to Herodotus, l. ii. c. 149. six hundred feet in extent. Pliny says, l. ii. c. 23. that it was six hundred and twenty-five. Those two authors may agree, considering the difference between the Greek and Roman foot; besides which, the measure of the stadium varies, according to the difference of times and places,

stadium in length, it took its name from its measure, and was called the *stadium*, whether precisely of that extent, or of a much greater. Under that denomination was included not only the space in which the *Athletae* ran, but also that which contained the spectators of the gymnical games. The place where the *Athletae* contended was called *scamma*, from its lying lower than the rest of the stadium, on each side of which, and its extremity, ran an ascent or kind of terrass, covered with seats and benches, upon which the spectators were seated. The most remarkable parts of the stadium, were its entrance, middle, and extremity.

The entrance of the course was marked at first only by a line drawn on the sand, from side to side of the stadium. To that at length was substituted a kind of barrier, which was only a cord strained tight in the front of the horses, or men, that were to run. It was sometimes a rail of wood. The opening of this barrier was the signal for the racers to start.

The middle of the stadium was remarkable only by the circumstance of having the prizes allotted to the victors, set up there. St. Chrysostom draws a fine comparison from this custom. *As the judges, says he, in the races and other games, expose, in the midst of the stadium, to the view of the champions, the crowns which they are to receive; in like manner the Lord, by the mouth of his prophets, has placed the prizes in the midst of the course, which he designs for those who have the courage to contend for them.*

At the extremity of the stadium was a goal, where the foot-races ended; but in those of chariots and horses, they were to run several times round it, without stopping, and afterwards conclude the race by regaining the other extremity of the lists, from whence they started.

There were three kinds of races, the chariot, the horse, and the foot race. I shall begin with the last, as the most simple, natural, and antient.

#### I. *Of the foot-race.*

THE runners, of whatever number they were, ranged themselves in a line, after having drawn lots for their

places. \* Whilst they waited the signal to start, they practised, by way of prelude, various motions to awaken their activity, and to keep their limbs pliable, and in a right temper. They kept themselves breathing by small leaps, and making little excursions, that were a kind of trial of their speed and agility. Upon the signals being given, they flew towards the goal with a rapidity scarce to be followed by the eye, which was solely to decide the victory: for the Agonic laws prohibited, upon the most infamous penalties, the attaining it by any foul method.

In the simple race the extent of the stadium was run but once, at the end of which the prize attended the victor, that is, he who came in first. In the race called *Διαυλος*, the competitors ran twice that length; that is, after having arrived at the goal, they returned to the barrier. To these may be added a third sort, called *Δολιχος*, which was the longest of all, as its name implies, and was composed of several *Diauli*. Sometimes it consisted of twenty-four stadia backwards and forwards, turning twelve times round the goal.

There were runners in antient times, as well amongst the Greeks as Romans, who were much celebrated for their swiftness. (x) Pliny tells us, that it was thought prodigious in Phidippides to run eleven hundred and forty stadia (y) between Athens and Lacedaemon in the space of two days, till Anytis of the latter place, and Philonides, the runner of Alexander the Great, made twelve hundred stadia (z) in one day, from Sicyone to Elis. These

(x) Plin. l. vii. c. 20. (y) 57 leagues. (z) 60 leagues.

\* "Tunc rite citatos

"Explorant acuntque gradus, variasque per artes

"Instimulant docto languentia membra tumultu.

"Poplite nunc flexo sidunt, nunc lubrica forti

"Pectora collidunt plausu; nunc ignea tollunt

"Crura, brevemque fugam nec-opino sine reponunt."

Stat. Theb. l. vi. v. 587, &c.

They try, they rouse their speed, with various arts  
Their languid limbs they prompt to act their parts.  
Now with bent hams, amidst the practis'd croud,  
They sit; now strain their lungs, and shout aloud;  
Now a short flight with fiery steps they trace,  
And with a sudden stop abridge the mimic race.



runners were denominated *ημιπαρομοι*, as we find in that passage of Herodotus (a) which mentions Phidippides. In the consulate of Fonteius and Vipstanus, in the reign of Nero, a boy of nine years old ran seventy-five thousand paces (b) between noon and night. Pliny adds, that in his time there were runners, who ran one hundred and sixty thousand paces (c) in the circus. Our wonder at such a prodigious speed will increase, continues he (d), if we reflect, that when Tiberius went to Germany to his brother Drusus, then at the point of death, he could not arrive there in less than four and twenty hours, though the distance was but two hundred thousand paces (e), and he ran with three post-chaifes \* with the utmost diligence.

## 2. *Of the horse-races.*

THE race of a single horse with a rider was less celebrated by the ancients, yet it had its favourers amongst the most considerable persons, and even kings themselves, and was attended with uncommon glory to the victor. Pindar, in his first ode, celebrates a victory of this kind, obtained by Hiero, King of Syracuse, to whom he gives the title of *Κίλης*, that is, *Victor in the horse-race*; which name was given to the horses carrying only a single rider, *Κίλητος*. Sometimes the rider led another horse by the bridle, and then the horses were called *desultorii*, and their riders *desultores*; because, after a number of turns in the stadium, they changed horses by dexterously vaulting from one to the other. A surprising address was necessary upon this occasion, especially in an age unacquainted with the use of stirrups, and when the horses had no saddles, which still made the leap more difficult. In the armies there were also cavalry † called *desultores*, who vaulted from one horse to another, as occasion required, and were generally Numidians.

(a) Her. l. vi. c. 106. (b) 30 leagues. (c) More than fifty-three leagues. (d) Val. Max. l. v. c. 5. (e) 67 leagues.

\* He had only a guide, and one officer with him.

† Nec omnes Numidæ in dextro locati cornu, sed quibus desultorum in modum binos trahentibus equos, inter acerrimam sæpe pugnam, in recentem equum ex fesso armatis transultare mos erat: tanta velocitas ipsis, tamque docile equorum genus est. Liv. l. xxiii.

(f)

3. *Of the chariot-races.*

THIS kind of race was the most renowned of all the exercises used in the games of the antients, and that from whence most honour redounded to the victors ; which is not to be wondered at, if we consider their origin. It is plain, they were derived from the constant custom of princes, heroes, and great men, of fighting in battle upon chariots. Homer has an infinity of examples of this kind. This being admitted as a custom, it is natural to suppose it very agreeable to these heroes, to have their charioteers as expert as possible in driving, as their success depended, in a very great measure, upon the address of their drivers. It was antiently therefore only to persons of the first consideration that this office was confided. Hence arose a laudable emulation to excel others in the art of guiding a chariot, and a kind of necessity to practise it very much, for the attainment of it. The high rank of the persons who made use of chariots, ennobled, as it always happens, an exercise peculiar to them. The other exercises were adapted to private soldiers and horsemen, as wrestling, running, and the single horse-race ; but the use of chariots in the field was always reserved to princes, and generals of armies.

Hence it was, that all those who presented themselves in the Olympic games to dispute the prize in the chariot-races, were persons considerable either for their riches, their birth, their employments, or great actions. Kings themselves aspired passionately to this glory, from the belief, that the title of victor in these games was scarce inferior to that of conqueror, and that the Olympic palm added new dignity to the splendors of a throne. Pindar's odes inform us, that Gelon and Hiero, kings of Syracuse, were of that opinion. Dionysius, who reigned there long after them, carried the same ambition much higher. Philip of Macedon had these victories stamped upon his coins, and seemed as much affected with them, as with those obtained against the enemies of his state. (f) All the world

(f) Plut. in Alex. p. 666.

knows the answer of Alexander the Great on this subject. When his friends asked him, whether he would dispute the prize of the races in these games? *Yes*, said he, *if kings were to be my antagonists*. Which shews, that he would not have disdained these exercises, if there had been competitors in them worthy of him.

The chariots were generally drawn by two or four horses, placed in a row; *bigae, quadrigae*. Sometimes mules supplied the place of horses, and then the chariot was called *απνν*. Pindar, in the fifth ode of his first book, celebrates one Psaumis, who had obtained a triple victory; one by a chariot drawn by four horses, *τετρίπρω*; another by one drawn by mules, *απνν*; and the third by a single horse, *χιλντι*, which the title of the ode expresses.

These chariots, upon a signal given, started together from a place called *Carceres*. Their places were regulated by lot, which was not an indifferent circumstance as to the victory; for being to turn round a boundary, the chariot on the left was nearer than those on the right, which in consequence had a greater compass to take. It appears from several passages in Pindar, and especially from one in Sophocles, which I shall cite very soon, that they ran twelve times round the stadium. He that came in first the twelfth round was victor. The chief art consisted in taking the best ground at the turning of the boundary: for if the charioteer drove too near it, he was in danger of dashing the chariot to pieces; and if he kept too wide of it, his nearest antagonist might cut the way upon him, and get foremost.

It is obvious, that these chariot-races could not be run without some danger; for as the \* motion of the wheels was very rapid, and grazed against the boundary in turning, the least error in driving would have broke the chariot in pieces, and might have dangerously wounded the charioteer. An example of which we find in the *Electra* of Sophocles, who gives an admirable description of this kind of race, run by ten competitors. The false Orestes,

\* "Metaque servidis Evitata rotis." Horat. od. 1. l. i.  
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at the twelfth and last round, having only one antagonist, the rest having been thrown out, was so unfortunate as to break one of his wheels against the boundary, and falling out of his seat intangled in the reins, the horses dragged him violently forwards along with them, and tore him to pieces: but this very seldom happened. (g) To avoid such danger, Nestor gives the following directions to his son Antilochus, who was going to dispute the prize in the chariot-races. "My son," says he, "drive your horses as near as possible to the turning; for which reason, always inclining your body over your chariot, get the left of your competitors, and encouraging the horse on the right, give him the rein, whilst the near horse, hard held, turns the boundary so close to it, that the nave of the wheel seems to graze upon it; but have a care of running against the stone, lest you wound your horses, and dash the chariot in pieces."

Father Montfaucon mentions a difficulty, in his opinion very considerable, in regard to the places of those who contended for the prize in the chariot-race. They all started indeed from the same line, and at the same time, and so far had no advantage of each other; but he, whose lot gave him the first place, being nearest the boundary at the end of the career, and having but a small compass to describe in turning about it, had less way to make than the second, third, fourth, &c.; especially when the chariots were drawn by four horses, which took up a greater space between the first and the others, and obliged them to make a larger circle in the coming round. This advantage twelve times together, as it must happen, admitting the stadium was to be run round twelve times, gave such a superiority to the first, as seemed to assure him infallibly of the victory against all his competitors. To me it seems, that the fleetness of the horses, joined with the address of the driver, might countervail this odds; either by getting before the first, or by taking his place, if not in the first, in some of the subsequent rounds: for it is not to

(g) Hom. Il. l. xxiii. v. 334. &c.



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be supposed, that, in the progress of the race, the antagonists always continued in the same order they started. They often changed places in a short interval of time, and in that variety and vicissitude consisted all the diversion of the spectators.

It was not required, that those who disputed the victory should enter the lists, and drive their chariots in person. Their being spectators of the games, or sending their horses thither, was sufficient; but in either case, it was previously necessary to register the names of the persons, for whom the horses were to run, either in the chariot or single horse-races.

(h) At the time that the city of Potidaea surrendered to Philip, three couriers brought him advices; the first, that the Illyrians had been defeated in a great battle by his general Parmenio; the second, that he had carried the prize of the horse-race in the Olympic games; and the third, that the Queen was delivered of a son. Plutarch seems to insinuate, that Philip was equally delighted with each of these circumstances.

(i) Hiero sent horses to Olympia to run for the prize, and caused a magnificent pavilion to be erected for them. Upon this occasion Themistocles harangued the Greeks, to persuade them to pull down the tyrant's pavilion, who had refused his aid against the common enemy, and to hinder his horses from running with the rest. It does not appear, that any regard was had to this remonstrance; for we find by one of Pindar's odes, composed in honour of Hiero, that he won the prize in the equestrian races.

(k) No one ever carried the ambition of making a great figure in the public games of Greece so far as Alcibiades, in which he distinguished himself in the most splendid manner, by the great number of horses and chariots, which he kept only for the races. There never was either private person or king, that sent, as he did, seven chariots at once to the Olympic games, wherein he carried the first, second, and third prizes; an honour no one ever had before him.

(h) Plut. in Alex. p. 666. (i) Plut. in Themist. p. 124.

(k) Plut. in Alcibiad. p. 196.

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P. 309.

The famous poet Euripides celebrated these victories in an ode, of which Plutarch has preserved a fragment, *in vit. Alcib.* The victor, after having made a sumptuous sacrifice to Jupiter, gave a magnificent feast to the innumerable multitude of the spectators at the games. It is not easy to comprehend, how the wealth of a private person should suffice to so enormous an expence : but Antisthenes the scholar of Socrates, who relates what he saw, informs us that many cities of the allies, in a kind of emulation with each other, supplied Alcibiades with all things necessary for the support of such incredible magnificence ; equipages, horses, tents, sacrifices, the most exquisite provisions, the most delicate wines, in a word, all that was necessary to the support of his table or train. The passage is remarkable ; for the same author assures us, that this was not only done when Alcibiades went to the Olympic games, but in all his military expeditions and journeys by land or sea. *Wherever, says he, Alcibiades travelled, he made use of four of the allied cities as his servants. Ephesus furnished him with tents, as magnificent as those of the Persians ; Chios took care to provide for his horses ; Cyzicum supplied him with sacrifices, and provisions for his table ; and Lesbos gave him wine, with all the other necessaries of his house.*

I must not omit, in speaking of the Olympic games, that the ladies were admitted to dispute the prize in them as well as the men ; which many of them obtained. (l) Cynisca, sister of Agesilaus King of Sparta, first opened this new path of glory to her sex, and was proclaimed victrix in the race of chariots with four horses. (m) This victory, which till then had no example, did not fail of being celebrated with all possible splendor. (n) A magnificent monument was erected in Sparta in honour of Cynisca ; and the Lacedaemonians, though otherwise very little sensible to the charms of poetry, appointed a poet to transmit this new triumph to posterity, and to immortalize its memory by an inscription in verse. (o) She herself dedicated a cha-

(l) Pausan. l. iii. p. 172. (m) p. 288. (n) p. 272. (o) Id. l. v. p. 309.

riot of brass, drawn by four horses, in the temple of Delphos; in which the charioteer was also represented; a certain proof that she did not drive it herself. (p) In process of time the picture of Cynisca, drawn by the famous Apelles, was annexed to it, and the whole adorned with many inscriptions in honour of that Spartan heroine.

SECT. VIII. *Of the honours and rewards granted to the Victors.*

THESE honours and rewards were of several kinds. The spectators acclamations in honour of the victors were only a prelude to the honours designed them. These rewards were different wreaths of wild olive, pine, parsley, or laurel, according to the different places where the games were celebrated. Those crowns were always attended with branches of palm, that the victors carried in their right hands; which custom, according to Plutarch (q), arose (perhaps) from the nature of the palm-tree, which displays new vigor the more endeavours are used to crush or bend it, and is a symbol of the champion's courage, and resistance in the attainment of the prize. As he might be victor more than once in the same games, and sometimes on the same day, he might also receive several crowns and palms.

When the victor had received the crown and palm, an herald, preceded by a trumpet, conducted him through the stadium; and proclaimed aloud his name and country, who passed in that kind of review before the people, whilst they redoubled their acclamations and applauses at the sight of him.

When he returned to his own country, the people came out in a body to meet him, and conducted him into the city, adorned with all the marks of his victory, and riding upon a chariot drawn by four horses. He made his entry, not through the gates, but through a breach purposely made in the walls. Lighted torches were carried before him, and a numerous train followed to do honour to the procession.

The Athletic triumph almost always concluded with feasts, made for the victors, their relations and friends,

(p) Pausan. l. vi. p. 344. (q) Sympof. l. viii. quæst. 4.

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either at the expence of the public, or by particulars, who regaled not only their families and friends, but often a great part of the spectators. (r) Alcibiades, after having sacrificed to Jupiter, which was always the first care of the victor, treated the whole assembly. Leophron did the same, as Athenaeus reports (s); who adds, that Empedocles of Agrigentum, having conquered in the same games, and not having it in his power, being a Pythagorean, to regale the people with flesh or fish, he caused an ox to be made of a paste, composed of myrrh, incense, and all sorts of spices, of which pieces were given to all who were present.

One of the most honourable privileges, granted to the Athletic victors, was the right of taking place at the public games. At Sparta it was a custom for the King to take them with him in military expeditions to fight near his person, and to be his guard; which with reason was judged very honourable. Another privilege, in which the useful united with the honourable, was that of being maintained for the rest of their lives at the expence of their country. (t) That this expence might not become too chargeable to the state, Solon reduced the pension of a victor in the Olympic games to five hundred drachmas (u); in the Isthmian to an hundred (x), and in the rest in proportion. The victor, and his country, considered this pension less as a relief of the champion's indigence, than as a mark of honour and distinction. They were also exempted from all civil offices and employments.

The celebration of the games being over, one of the first applications of the magistrates, who presided in them, was, to inscribe in the public register, the name and country of the Athletae, who had carried the prizes, and to annex the species of combat, in which they had been victorious. The chariot race had the preference to all other games. From whence the historians, who date their facts by the Olympiads, as Thucydides, Dionysius Halicarnassicus, Diodorus Siculus, and Pausanias, almost always ex-

(r) Plut. in Alcib. p. 196. (s) Lib. i. p. 3. (t) Diog. Laert. in Solon. p. 37. (u) 250 livres. (x) fifty livres,



press the Olympiad by the name and country of the victors in that race.

The praises of the victorious Athletæ were amongst the Greeks one of the principal subjects of their lyric poetry. We find, that all the odes of the four books of Pindar turn upon it, each of which takes its title from the games in which the combatants signalized themselves, whose victories those poems celebrate. The poet indeed frequently enriches his matter, by calling in to the champion's assistance, incapable alone of inspiring all the enthusiasm necessary, the aid of the gods, heroes, and princes, who have any relation to his subject; and to support the flights of imagination, to which he abandons himself. Before Pindar, the Poet Simonides practised the same manner of writing, intermingling the praises of the Gods and heroes with those of the champions whose victories he sang. (y) It is related upon this head, that one of the victors in boxing, called *Scopas*, having agreed with Simonides for a poem upon his victory, the poet, according to custom, after having given the highest praises to the champion, expatiates in a long digression to the honour of Castor and Pollux. Scopas, satisfied in appearance with the performance of Simonides, paid him however only the third part of the sum agreed on, referring him for the remainder to the Tyn- darides, whom he had celebrated so well. And he was well paid their part in effect, if we may believe the sequel. For at the feast given by the champion, whilst the guests were at table, a servant came to Simonides, and told him, that two men, covered with dust and sweat, were at the door, and desired to speak with him in all haste. He had scarce set his foot out of the chamber, in order to go to them, when the roof fell in, and crushed the champion with all his guests to death.

Sculpture united with poetry to perpetuate the fame of the champions. Statues were erected to the victors, especially in the Olympic games, in the very place where they had been crowned, and sometimes in that of their birth

(y) Cic. de orat. l. ii. n. 352, 353.; Phæd. l. ii. fab. 24.; Quintil. l. xi. c. 2.

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also; which was commonly done at the expence of their country. Amongst the statues which adorned Olympia, were those of several children of ten or twelve years old, who had obtained the prize at that age in the Olympic games. They did not only raise such monuments to the champions, but to the very horses, to whose swiftness they were indebted for the agonistic crown; and (z) Pausanias mentions one, which was erected in honour of a mare, called *Aura*, whose history is worth repeating. Phidolas, her rider, having fallen off in the beginning of the race, the mare continued to run in the same manner as if he had been upon her back. She outstript all the rest, and upon the sound of the trumpets, which was usual toward the end of the race to animate the competitors, she redoubled her vigor and courage, turned round the goal; and, as if she had been sensible of the victory, presented herself before the judges of the games. The Elænas declared Phidolas victor, with permission to erect a monument to himself, and to the mare that had served him so well.

SECT. IX. *The different taste of the Greeks and Romans, in regard to public shews.*

BEFORE I make an end of observing upon the combats and games so much in estimation amongst the Greeks, I beg the readers permission to make a reflection, that may serve to explain the different characters of the Greeks and Romans with regard to this subject.

The most common entertainment of the latter, at which the fair sex, by nature tender and compassionate, were present in throngs, was the combats of the gladiators, and of men with bears and lions; in which the cries of the wounded and dying, and the abundant effusion of human blood, supplied a grateful spectacle for a whole people, who feasted their cruel eyes with the savage pleasure of seeing men murder one another in cold blood, and in the times of the persecutions, with the tearing in pieces of old men and infants, of women and tender virgins, whose age and weakness are apt to excite compassion in the hardest hearts.

(z) Lib. vii. p. 368.

In Greece these combats were absolutely unknown, and were only introduced into some cities, after their subjection to the Roman people. (a) The Athenians, however, whose distinguishing characteristics were benevolence and humanity, never admitted them into their city; and when it was proposed to introduce the combats of the gladiators, that they might not be outdone by the Corinthians in that point, *First throw down*, cried out an \* Athenian, from the midst of the assembly, *throw down the altar erected above a thousand years ago by our ancestors to Mercy.*

It must be allowed in this respect, that the conduct and wisdom of the Greeks was infinitely superior to that of the Romans. I speak of the wisdom of Pagans. Convinced that the multitude, too much governed by the objects of sense, to be sufficiently amused and entertained with the pleasures of the understanding, could be delighted only with sensible objects, both nations were studious to divert them with games and shews, and such external contrivances as were proper to affect the senses. In the institution of which, each follows its peculiar genius and disposition.

The Romans, educated in war, and accustomed to battles, retained, notwithstanding the politeness upon which they picqued themselves, something of their antient ferocity: and hence it was, that the effusion of blood, and the murders exhibited in their public shews, far from inspiring them with horror, was a grateful-entertainment to them.

The insolent pomp of triumphs flows from the same source, and argues no less inhumanity. To obtain this honour, it was necessary to prove, that eight or ten thousand men at least had been killed in battle. The spoils, which were carried with so much ostentation, proclaimed, that an infinity of honest families had been reduced to the utmost misery. The innumerable troop of captives had been free persons a few days before, and were often distinguishable for honour, merit, and virtue. The representation of the towns that had been taken in the war, explained, that they

(b) Lucian. in vit Demonast. p. 1014.

\* It was Demonax, a celebrated philosopher, whose disciple Lucian had been. He flourished in the reign of Marcus Aurelius.

had sacked, plundered, and burnt the most opulent cities; and either destroyed or enslaved their inhabitants. In fine, nothing was more inhuman, than to drag kings and princes in chains before the chariot of a Roman citizen, and to insult their misfortunes and humiliation in that public manner.

(b) The triumphal arches, erected under the emperors, where the enemies appeared with chains upon their hands and legs, could proceed only from an haughty fierceness of disposition, and an inhuman pride, that took delight in immortalizing the shame and sorrow of subjected nations.

The joy of the Greeks after a victory was far more modest. They erected trophies indeed, but of wood, a matter little durable, which would soon consume; and those it was prohibited to renew. Plutarch's reason for this is admirable. \* After time had destroyed and obliterated the marks of dissension and enmity that had divided the people, it would have been the excess of odious and barbarous animosity, to have thought of re-establishing them, and to have perpetuated the remembrance of antient quarrels, which could not be buried too soon in silence and oblivion. He adds, that the trophies of stone and brass, since substituted to those of wood, reflect no honour upon those who introduced the custom.

(c) I am pleased with the grief of Agefilaus's countenance, after a considerable victory, wherein a great number of his enemies, that is to say of Greeks, were left upon the field; and to hear him utter, with sighs and groans, these words, so full of moderation and humanity: "Oh! unhappy Greece, to deprive thy self of so many brave citizens, and to destroy those who had been sufficient to have conquered all the barbarians!"

The same spirit of moderation and humanity prevailed in the public shews of the Greeks. Their festivals had nothing mournful or afflictive in them. Every thing in those feasts tended to delight, friendship, and harmony:

(b) Plut. in quæst. Rom. p. 273.

(c) Plut. in Lacon. apophthegm. p. 211.

\* Οτι τα χρονη τα σημεια της προς της πολεμικης διαφορας ωμυνοντος, αυτης αναλαμβανειν και καινοποιειν επιφθονον εστι και φιλαρχηθμον.



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and in that consisted one of the greatest advantages which resulted to Greece, from the solemnization of these games. The republics, separated by distance of country, and diversity of interests, having the opportunity of meeting from time to time in the same place, and in the midst of rejoicing and festivity, allied themselves more strictly with one another, apprised each other of their strength, animated each other against the barbarians and the common enemies of their liberty, and made up their differences by the mediation of some neutral state in alliance with them. The same language, manners, sacrifices, exercises, and worship, all conspired to unite the several little states of Greece into one great and formidable nation; and to preserve amongst them the same disposition, the same principles, the same zeal for their liberty, and the same passion for the arts and sciences.

### ARTICLE IV.

*Of the prizes of wit, and the shews and representations of the theatre.*

**I** HAVE reserved for the conclusion of this head another kind of competition, which does not at all depend upon the strength, activity, and address of the body, and may be called with reason *the combat of the mind*; wherein the orators, historians, and poets, made trial of their capacities, and submitted their productions to the censure and judgment of the public. The emulation in this sort of dispute was most lively and ardent, as the victory in question might justly be deemed to be infinitely superior to all the others, because it affects the man more nearly, is founded in his personal and internal qualities; and decides the merit of his wit and capacity; which are advantages we are apt to aspire at with the utmost vivacity and passion, and of which we are least of all inclined to renounce the glory to others.

It was a great honour, and at the same time a most sensible pleasure, for writers, who are generally fond of fame and applause, to have known how to reconcile the voices

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in their favour, of so numerous and select an assembly as that of the Olympic games; in which were present all the finest geniuses of Greece, and all the best judges of the excellency of a work. This theatre was equally open to history, eloquence, and poetry.

(d) Herodotus read his history in the Olympic games to all Greece, assembled at them, and was heard with such applause, that the names of *the nine muses* were given to the nine books which compose his work, and the people cried out where-ever he passed, *That's he who has wrote our history, and celebrated our glorious successes against the barbarians so excellently.*

All who had been present at the games, did afterwards make every part of Greece resound with the name and glory of this illustrious historian.

Lucian, who writes the fact I have repeated, adds, that, after the example of Herodotus, many of the sophists and rhetoricians went to Olympia, to read the harangues of their composing; finding that the shortest and most certain method of acquiring a great reputation in a little time.

(e) Plutarch observes, that Lyfias, the famous Athenian orator, cotemporary with Herodotus, pronounced a speech in the Olympic games, wherein he congratulated the Greeks upon their reconciliation with each other, and their having united to reduce the power of Dionysius the tyrant, as upon the greatest action they had ever done.

(f) We may judge of the passion of the poets to signalize themselves in these solemn games, from that of Dionysius himself. That prince, who had the foolish vanity to believe himself the most excellent poet of his time, appointed readers, called in the Greek *ραψωδοι*, (*rhapsodists*), to read several pieces of his composing at Olympia. When they began to pronounce the verses of the royal poet, the strong and harmonious voices of the readers occasioned a profound silence, and they were heard at first with the greatest attention, which continually decreased as they went on, and turned at last into downright horse-

(d) Lucian, in Herod. p. 622.

(e) Plut. de vit. orat. p. 836.

(f) Diod. l. xiv. p. 318.

laughs and hootings; so miserable did the verses appear. (g) He comforted himself for this disgrace, by a victory he gained some time after, in the feast of Bacchus at Athens, in which he caused a tragedy of his composition to be represented.

The disputes of the poets in the Olympic games were nothing, in comparison with the ardor and emulation expressed by them at Athens; which is what remains to be said upon this subject: and therefore I shall conclude with it; taking occasion to give my readers at the same time a short view of the shews and representations of the theatre of the antients. Those, who would be more fully informed in this subject, will find it treated at large in a work lately made public by the Reverend Father Brumoi the Jesuit; a work which abounds with profound knowledge and erudition, and with reflections entirely new, deduced from the nature of the poems of which it treats. I shall make considerable use of that piece, and often without citing it; which is not uncommon with me.

SECT. I. *Extraordinary passion of the Athenians for the entertainments of the stage. Emulation of the poets in disputing the prizes in those representations. A short idea of dramatic poetry.*

No people ever expressed so much ardor and passion for the entertainments of the theatre as the Greeks, and especially the Athenians. The reason of which is obvious. No people ever demonstrated such extent of genius, nor carried so far the love of eloquence and poesy, taste for the sciences, justness of sentiments, elegance of ear, and delicacy in all the refinements of language. \* A poor woman, who sold herbs at Athens, distinguished Theophrastus to be a stranger, by a single word, which he made use of in expressing himself. The common people got the tragedies of Euripides by heart. The genius of every nation expresses itself in the peoples manner of passing their

(g) Diod. l. xv. p. 384.

\* Attica anus Theophrastum, hominem alioqui disertissimum, annotata unius affectatione verbi, hospitem dixit. Quint. l. viii. c. 1.

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time, and in their pleasures. The great employment and delight of the Athenians were, to amuse themselves with works of wit, and to judge of the dramatic pieces, that were acted by the public authority several times a-year, especially at the feasts of Bacchus, when the tragic and comic poets disputed for the prize. The former used to present four of their pieces at a time; except Sophocles, who did not think fit to continue so laborious an exercise, and confined himself to one performance, when he disputed the prize.

The state appointed judges, to determine upon the merit of the tragic or comic pieces, before they were represented in the festivals. They were acted before them in the presence of the people; but undoubtedly with no great preparation. The judges gave their suffrages; and that performance, which had the most voices, was declared victorious, received the crown as such, and was received with all possible pomp, at the expence of the republic. This did not, however, exclude such pieces, as were only in the second or third class. The best had not always the preference; for what times were exempt from party, caprice, ignorance, and prejudice? (h) Ælian is very angry with the judges, who, in one of these disputes, gave only the second place to Euripides. He accuses them of judging either without capacity, or of giving their voices for hire. It is easy to conceive the warmth and emulation which these disputes and public rewards excited amongst the poets, and how much they contributed to the perfection to which Greece carried dramatic performances.

The dramatic poem introduces the persons themselves, speaking and acting upon the stage. In the epic, on the contrary, only the poet relates the different adventures of his characters. It is natural to be delighted with fine descriptions of events, in which illustrious persons and whole nations are interested; and hence the epic poem had its origin. But we are quite differently affected with hearing those persons themselves, with being confidants of their most secret sentiments, and auditors and spectators of their

(h) Ælian. l. ii. c. 8.



resolutions, enterprizes, and the happy or unhappy events attending them. To read, and see an action, are quite different things. We are infinitely more moved with what is acted, than with what we read. The spectator, agreeably deceived by an imitation so nearly approaching life, mistakes the picture for the original, and thinks the object real. This gave birth to dramatic poetry, which includes tragedy and comedy.

To these may be added the satyric poem, which derives its name from the satyrs, rural gods, who were the chief characters in it; and not from the *satire*, a kind of abusive poetry, which has no resemblance to this, and is of a much later date. The satyric poem was neither tragedy nor comedy, but something between both, participating of the character of each. The poets, who disputed the prize, generally added one of these pieces to their tragedies, to allay the grave and solemn of the one, with the mirth and pleasantry of the other. There is but one example of this antient poem come down to us, which is the *Cyclops* of Euripides.

I shall confine myself, upon this head, to tragedy and comedy; which had both their origin amongst the Greeks, who looked upon them as fruits of their own growth, of which they could never have enough. Athens was very remarkable for an extraordinary appetite of this kind. These two poems, which were a long time comprized under the general name of *tragedy*, received there by degrees, such improvements, as at length raised them to their last perfection.

SECT. II. *The origin and progress of tragedy; Poets who excelled in it at Athens; Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides.*

THERE had been many tragic and comic poets before Thespis: but as they had altered nothing in the original rude form of this poem, and Thespis was the first that made any improvement in it, he was generally esteemed its inventor. Before him, tragedy was no more than a jumble of buffoon tales, in the comic style, intermixed with the

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singing of a chorus in praise of Bacchus ; for it is to the feasts of that god, celebrated at the time of the vintage, that tragedy owes its birth.

(i) *La tragédie, informe et grossière en naissant,  
N' étoit qu'un simple chœur, où chacun en dansant,  
Et du dieu des raisins entonnant les louanges,  
S' efforçoit d' attirer de fertiles vendanges.  
Là, le vin et la joie éveillant les esprits,  
Du plus habile chanter un bouc étoit le prix.*

Formless and gross did tragedy arise :  
A simple chorus, rather mad than wise ;  
For fruitful vintages the dancing throng  
Roar'd to the god of grapes a drunken song :  
Wild mirth, and wine, sustain'd the frantic note,  
And the best singer had the prize, a goat.

Thespis made several alterations in it, which Horace describes after Aristotle, in his art of poetry. The \* first was, to carry his actors about in a cart, whereas before they used to sing in the streets, wherever chance led them. Another was, to have their faces smeared over with wine-lees, instead of acting without disguise as at first. He also introduced a character amongst the chorus, who, to give the actors time to rest themselves, and to take breath, repeated the adventures of some illustrious person ; which recital, at length, gave place to the subjects of tragedy.

(k) *Thespis fut le premier, qui barbouillé de lie,  
Promena par les bourgs cette heureuse folie,  
Et d' acteurs mal ornés chargeant un tombereau,  
Amusa les passans d' un spectacle nouveau.*

First Thespis, smear'd with lees, and void of art,  
The grateful folly vented from a cart ;

(i) Boileau art. poet. cant. 3. (k) Ibid.

" \* Ignotum tragicæ génus invenisse Camoenæ  
" Dicitur, et plaustris vexisse poemata Thespis,  
" Quæ canerent agerentque peruncti facibus ora. Hor. de art. poet.  
When Thespis first expos'd the tragic muse,  
Rude were the actors, and a cart the scene,  
Where ghastly faces, smear'd with lees of wine,  
Frighted the children, and amus'd the croud. Roscom. art of poet.

And as his tawdry actors drove about,

The sight was new, and charm'd the gaping rout.

(l) Thespis lived in the time of Solon. That wise legislator, upon seeing his pieces performed, expressed his dislike, by striking his staff against the ground; apprehending, that these poetical fictions, and idle stories, from mere theatrical representations, would soon become matters of importance, and have too great a share in all public and private affairs.

It is not so easy to invent, as to improve the inventions of others. The alterations Thespis made in tragedy, gave room for Æschylus to make new and more considerable of his own. (m) He was born at Athens, in the first year of the sixtieth Olympiad. He took upon him the profession of arms, at a time when the Athenians reckoned almost as many heroes as citizens. He was at the battles of Marathon, Salamis, and Plataea, where he did his duty. (n) But his disposition called him elsewhere, and put him upon entering into another course, where no less glory was to be acquired; and where he was soon without any competitors. As a superior genius, he took upon him to reform, or rather to create tragedy anew; of which he has, in consequence, been always acknowledged the inventor and father. Father Brumoi, in a dissertation which abounds with wit and good sense, explains the manner in which Æschylus conceived the true idea of tragedy from Homer's epic poems. That poet himself used to say, that his works were only copies in relieve of Homer's draughts in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

Tragedy, therefore, took a new form under him. He gave \* masks to his actors, adorned them with robes and trains, and made them wear buskins. Instead of a cart he erected a theatre of a moderate extent, and entirely changed their style; which from being merry and burlesque as at first, became majestic and serious.

(l) A. M. 3440. Ant. J. C. 564. Plut. in Solon. p. 95. (m) A. M. 5464. Ant. J. C. 540. (n) A. M. 3314. Ant. J. C. 490.

\* Post hunc personæ pallaeque repertor honestæ  
Æschylus, et modicis instravit pulpita tignis,  
Et docuit magnumque loqui, nitique cothurno. Hor. de art. poe

(o) *Eschyle dans le chœur jetta les personages :  
D'un masque plus honnête habilla les visages :  
Sur les ais d'un théâtre en public exhaussé  
Fit paroître l'acteur d'un brodequin chaussé.*

From Æschylus the chorus learn'd new grace ;  
He veil'd with decent masks the actor's face,  
Taught him in buskins first to tread the stage,  
And rais'd a theatre to please the age.

But that was only the external part or body of tragedy. Its soul, which was the most important and essential addition of Æschylus, consisted in the vivacity and spirit of the action, sustained by the dialogue of the persons of the drama introduced by him ; in the artful working up of the greater passions, especially of terror and pity, that, by alternately afflicting and agitating the soul with mournful and terrible objects, produce a grateful pleasure and delight from that very trouble and emotion ; in the choice of a subject great, noble, affecting, and contained within the due bounds of time, place, and action. In fine, it is the conduct and disposition of the whole piece, which, by the order and harmony of its parts, and the happy connexion of its incidents and intrigues, holds the mind of the spectator in suspense till the catastrophe, and then restores him his tranquillity, and dismisses him with satisfaction.

The chorus had been established before Æschylus, as it composed alone, or next to alone, what was then called *tragedy*. He did not therefore exclude it, but, on the contrary, thought fit to incorporate it, to sing as chorus between the acts. Thus it supplied the interval of resting, and was a kind of person of the drama, employed \* either

(o) Boileau. art. poet.

This Æschylus (with indignation) saw,  
And built a stage, found out a decent dress,  
Brought vizors in, (a civiler disguise),  
And taught men how to speak, and how to act.

Roscom. art poet.

- \* " Actoris partes chorus officiumque virile
- " Defendat, neu quid medios intercinat actus,
- " Quod non proposito conducatur, et hæreat apte.



in giving useful counsels and salutary instructions, in espousing the party of innocence and virtue, in being the depositary of secrets, and the avenger of violated religion, or to sustain all those characters at the same time, according to Horace. The Coryphaeus, or principal person of the chorus spoke for the rest.

In one of Æschylus's pieces, called the *Eumenides*, the poet represents Orestes at the bottom of the stage, surrounded by the furies laid asleep by Apollo. Their figure must have been extremely horrible, as it is related, that, upon their waking and appearing tumultuously on the theatre, where they were to act as a chorus, some women miscarried with the surprise, and several children died with the fright. The chorus at that time consisted of fifty actors. After this accident, it was reduced to fifteen by an express law, and at length to twelve.

I have observed, that one of the alterations made by Æschylus in tragedy, was the mask worn by his actors. These dramatic masks had no resemblance to ours, which only cover the face, but were a kind of case for the whole head, and which, besides the features, represented the beard, the hair, the ears, and even the ornaments, used by women in their head dresses. These masks varied according to the different pieces that were acted. They are treated at large in a dissertation of Mr. Boindin's, inserted in the memoirs of the academy of belles lettres (p).

(p) Vol. 4.

" Ille bonis faveatque, et concilietur amicis.

" Et regat iratos, et amet pecore timentes.

" Ille dapes laudet mensæ brevis; ille salubrem

" Justitiam, legesque, et apertis otia portis.

" Ille regat commissa, deosque precetur et oret,

" Ut redeat miseris, abeat fortuna superbis. Hor. de art. poet.

The chorus should supply what action wants,

And hath a generous and manly part;

Bridles wild rage, loves rigid honesty,

And strict observance of impartial laws,

Sobriety, security, and peace,

And begs the gods to turn blind fortune's wheel,

To raise the wretched, and pull down the proud:

But nothing must be sung between the acts,

But what some way conduces to the plot.

Roscom, art of poetry translat.

I could never comprehend, as I have observed elsewhere (q), in speaking of pronunciation, how masks came to continue so long upon the stage of the antients: for certainly they could not be used, without considerably flattening the spirit of the action; which is principally expressed in the countenance, the seat and mirror of what passes in the soul. Does it not often happen, that the blood, according to its being put in motion by different passions, sometimes covers the face with a sudden and modest blush, sometimes inflames it with the heats of rage and fury, sometimes retires, leaving it pale with fear, and at others diffuses a calm and amiable serenity over it! All these affections are strongly imaged and distinguished in the lineaments of the face. The masque deprives the features of this energy of language, and of that life and soul, by which it is the faithful interpreter of all the sentiments of the heart. I do not wonder therefore at Cicero's remark upon the action of Roscius. \* Our ancestors, says he, were better judges than we are. They could not wholly approve even Roscius himself, whilst he performed in a mask.

Æschylus was in the sole possession of the glory of the stage, with almost every voice in his favour, when a young rival made his appearance to dispute the palm with him. This was Sophocles. He was born at Colonos, a town in Attica, in the second year of the seventy-first Olympiad. His father was a blacksmith, or one who kept people of that trade to work for him. His first essay was a masterpiece. When, upon the occasion of Cimon's having found the bones of Theseus, and their being brought to Athens, a dispute between the tragic poets was appointed, Sophocles entered the lists with Æschylus, and carried the prize against him. The antient victor, laden till then with the wreaths he had acquired, believed them all lost by sailing of the last, and withdrew in disgust into Sicily to King Hiero, the protector and patron of all the learned in disgrace at Athens. He died there soon after in a very singular man-

(q) Manner of teaching, &c. vol. 4.

\* Quo. melius nostri illi senes, qui personatum, ne Roscium quidem, magnopere laudabant, Lib. 3. de orat. n. 221.

ner, if we may believe Suidas. As he lay asleep in the fields with his head bare, an eagle taking his bald crown for a stone, let a tortoise fall upon it, which killed him. Of ninety, or at least seventy tragedies, composed by him, only seven are now extant.

Nor have those of Sophocles escaped the injury of time better, though one hundred and seventeen in number, and, according to some, one hundred and thirty. He retained, to extreme old age, all the force and vigor of his genius, as appears from a circumstance in his history. His children, unworthy of so great a father, upon pretence that he had lost his senses, summoned him before the judges, in order to obtain a decree that his estate might be taken from him, and put into their hands. He made no other defence, than to read a tragedy he was at that time composing, called *Oedipus at Colonus*, with which the judges were so charmed, that he carried his cause unanimously, and his children, detested by the whole assembly, got nothing by their suit, but the shame and infamy of so flagrant an ingratitude. He was twenty times crowned victor. Some say he expired in repeating his *Antigone*, for want of power to recover his breath, after a violent endeavour to pronounce a long period to the end. Others, that he died of joy, upon his being declared victor contrary to his expectation. The figure of an hive was placed upon his tomb, to perpetuate the name of *bee*, which had been given him from the sweetness of his verses: whence it is probable the notion was derived of the bees having settled upon his lips, when in his cradle. He died in his ninetieth year (r), the fourth of the ninety-third Olympiad, after having survived Euripides six years, who was not so old as himself.

The latter was born in the first year of the seventy-fifth Olympiad (s) at Salamin, whither his father Menecarchus, and mother Clito, had retired, when Xerxes was preparing his great expedition against Greece. He applied himself at first to philosophy, and, amongst others, had the celebrated Anaxagoras for his master. But the dan-

(r) A. M. 3599. Ant. J. C. 405. (s) A. M. 3524. Ant. J. C. 480.

\* Sente  
par. Quir  
† Cui  
versus sup

ger incurred by that great man, who was very near being made the victim of his philosophical tenets, inclined him to the study of poetry. He discovered in himself a genius for the drama unknown to him at first, and employed it with such success, that he entered the lists with the greatest masters, of whom we have been speaking. \* His works sufficiently denote his profound application to philosophy. They abound with excellent maxims of morality, and it is in that view Socrates in his time, and † Cicero long after him, set so high a value upon Euripides.

One cannot sufficiently admire the extreme delicacy expressed by the Athenian audience on certain occasions, and their solicitude to preserve the reverence due to morality, virtue, decency, and justice. It is surprizing to observe the warmth with which they unanimously reprov'd whatever seem'd inconsistent with them, and called the poet to an account for it, notwithstanding his having the best founded excuse, in giving such sentiments only to persons notoriously vicious, and actuated by the most unjust passions.

Euripides had put into the mouth of Bellerophon a pompous panegyric upon riches, which concluded with this thought: *Riches are the supreme good of human race, and with reason excite the admiration of the gods and men.* The whole theatre cried out against these expressions; and he would have been banish'd directly, if he had not desired the sentence to be respited, till the conclusion of the piece, in which the advocate for riches perished miserably.

He was in danger of incurring no common inconveniences from an answer he makes Hippolitus give his mother, upon her representing to him, that he had engaged himself under an inviolable oath to keep her secret. *My tongue, it is true, pronounced that oath,* replied he, *but my heart gave no consent to it.* This frivolous distinction appear'd to the whole people, as an express contempt of the religion and sanctity of an oath, that tended to banish all sincerity and faith from society, and the commerce of life.

\* Sententiis densus; et in iis quae a sapientibus sunt, pene ipsis est par. Quintil. l. x. c. i.

† Cui Euripidi quantum credas nescio; ego certe singulos ejus versus singula testimonia puto. Epist. 8. l. xiv. ad famil.



Another maxim \* advanced by Eteocles in the tragedy called *The Phœnicians*, and which Cæsar had always in his mouth, is no less pernicious: *If justice may be violated at all, it is when a throne is in question; in other respects let it be duly revered.* It is highly criminal in Eteocles, or rather in Euripides, says Cicero, to make an exception in that very point, wherein such violation is the highest crime that can be committed. Eteocles is a tyrant, and speaks like a tyrant, who vindicates his unjust conduct by a false maxim; and it is not strange, that Cæsar, who was a tyrant by nature, and equally unjust, should apply the sentiments of a prince, whom he so much resembled. But what is remarkable in Cicero, is his falling upon the poet himself, and imputing to him as a crime, the having advanced so pernicious a principle upon the stage.

(t) Lycurgus, the orator, who lived in the time of Philip and Alexander the Great, to re-animate the spirit of the tragic poets, caused three statutes of brass to be erected in the name of the people, to Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides; and having ordered their works to be transcribed, he appointed them to be carefully preserved amongst the public archives, from whence they were taken from time to time to be read; the players not being permitted to represent them on the stage.

The reader expects, no doubt, after what has been said upon the three poets, who invented, improved, and carried tragedy to its perfection, that I should observe upon the peculiar excellencies of their style and character. For that I must refer to father Brumoi, who will do it much better than is in my power. After having laid down, as an undoubted principle, that the epic poet, that is to say Homer, pointed out the way for the tragic poets, and having demonstrated, by reflections drawn from human na-

(t) Plut. in vit. 10. orat. p. 841.

\* Ipse autem socer (Cæsar) in ore semper Græcos versus Euripidis de Phœnissis habebat, quos dicam ut potero, inconditæ fortasse, sed tamen ut res possit intelligi.

Nam, si violandum est jus, regnandi gratia violandum est; aliis rebus pietatem colas.

Capitalis Eteocles, vel potius Euripides, qui id unum, quod omnium sceleratissimum fuerat, exceperit. Offic. l. iii. n. 82.

ture, upon what principles and by what degrees this happy imitation was conducted to its end, he goes on to describe the three poets, upon whom he treats in the most lively and shining colours.

Tragedy took at first from Æschylus, its inventor, a much more lofty style than the Iliad; that is, the *magnum loqui* mentioned by Horace. Perhaps Æschylus, who was its author, was too pompous, and carried the tragic style too high. It is not Homer's trumpet, but something more. His sounding, swelling, gigantic diction, resembles rather the beating of drums and the shouts of battle, than the nobler harmony and silver sound of the trumpet. The elevation and grandeur of his genius, would not admit him to speak the language of other men; so that his muse seemed rather to walk in stilts, than in the buskins of his own invention.

Sophocles understood much better the true excellency of the dramatic style: he therefore copies Homer more closely, and blends in his diction that honeyed sweetness, from whence he was denominated *the Bee*, with a gravity, that gives his tragedy the modest air of a matron, compelled to appear in public with dignity, as Horace expresses it.

The style of Euripides, though noble, is less removed from the familiar; and he seems to have affected rather the pathetic and the elegant, than the nervous and the lofty.

As Corneille, says Mr. Brumoi in another place, after having opened to himself a path entirely new and unknown to the antients, seems like an eagle towering in the clouds, from the sublimity, force, unbroken progress and rapidity of his flight; and as Racine, in copying the antients in a manner entirely his own, imitates the swan, that sometimes floats upon the air, sometimes rises, then falls again with an excellence of motion, and a grace peculiar to herself; so Æschylus, Sophocles and Euripides, have each of them a particular tour and method. The first, as the inventor and father of tragedy, is like a torrent rolling impetuously over rocks, forests, and precipices. The second resembles

a \* canal, which flows gently through delicious gardens; and the third a river, that does not follow its course in a continued line, but loves to turn and wind his silver wave through flowery meads and rural scenes.

Mr. Brumoi gives this character of the three poets, to whom the Athenian stage was indebted for its perfection in tragedy. † Æschylus drew it out of its original chaos and confusion, and made it appear in some degree of lustre; but it still retained the rude unfinished air of things in their beginning, which are generally defective in point of art and method. Sophocles and Euripides added infinitely to the dignity of tragedy. The style of the first, as has been observed, is more noble and majestic; of the latter, more tender and pathetic; each perfect in their way. In this diversity of character, it is difficult to resolve which is most excellent. The learned have always been divided upon this head; as we are at this day, in regard to the two poets of our own nation, whose tragedies have made our stage illustrious, and not inferior to that of Athens.

I have observed, that the tender and pathetic distinguishes the compositions of Euripides, of which Alexander of Phœræ, the most cruel of tyrants, was a proof. That barbarous man, upon seeing the Troades of Euripides acted, found himself so moved with it, that he quitted the theatre before the conclusion of the play; professing, that he was ashamed to be seen in tears for the distress of Hercules and Andromache, who had never shewn the least compassion for his own citizens, of whom he had butchered such numbers.

When I speak of the tender and pathetic, I would not be understood to mean a passion, that softens the heart into effeminacy, and which, to our reproach, is almost only re-

\* I cannot tell whether the idea of a canal, that flows gently through delicious gardens, may properly imply the character of Sophocles, which is peculiarly distinguished by nobleness, grandeur and elevation. That of an impetuous and rapid stream, whose waves, from the violence of their motion, are loud, and to be heard afar off, seems to me a more suitable image of that poet.

† Tragedias primus in lucem Æschylus protulit: sublimis, et gravis, et grandiloquus sæpe usque ad vitium; sed rudis in plerisque et incompositus. Quintil. l. x. c. 1.

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ceived upon our stage, though rejected by the ancients, and condemned by the nations around us of greatest reputation for their genius, and taste of the sciences and polite learning. The two great principles for moving the passions amongst the ancients, were terror and pity (u). And indeed, as we naturally determine every thing from its relation to ourselves, or our particular interest; when we see persons of exalted rank or virtue sinking under great evils, the fear of the like misfortunes, with which we know that human life is on all sides invested, seizes upon us, and, from a secret impulse of self-love, we find ourselves sensibly affected with the distresses of others: besides which, the sharing a common nature with the rest of our species, makes us sensible to whatever befalls them. Upon a close and attentive inquiry into those two passions, they will be found the most important, active, extensive, and general affections of the soul; including all orders of men, great and small, rich and poor, of whatever age or condition. Hence the ancients, accustomed to consult nature, and to take her for their guide in all things, conceived terror and compassion to be the soul of tragedy; and for that reason that those affections ought to prevail in it. The passion of love was in no estimation amongst them, and had seldom any share in their dramatic pieces; though with us it is a received opinion, that they cannot be supported without it.

It is worth our trouble to examine briefly in what manner this passion, which has always been deemed a weakness and a blemish in the greatest characters, got such footing upon our stage. Corneille, who was the first who brought the French tragedy to any perfection, and whom all the rest have followed, found the whole nation enamoured to madness of romances, and little disposed to admire any thing not resembling them. From the desire of pleasing his audience, who were at the same time his judges, he endeavoured to move them in the manner they had been accustomed to be affected; and by introducing love in his scenes,

(u) Φόβος καὶ ἐλεος.

\* Homo sum: humani nihil a me alienum puto. TERT.



to bring them the nearer to the predominant taste of the age for romance. From the same source arose that multiplicity of incidents, episodes, and adventures, with which our tragic pieces are crowded and obscured, so contrary to probability, which will not admit such a number of extraordinary and surprizing events in the short space of four and twenty hours, so contrary to the simplicity of antient tragedy, and so adapted to conceal, in the assemblage of so many different objects, the sterility of the genius of a poet, more intent upon the marvelous, than upon the probable and natural.

Both the Greeks and Romans have preferred the Iambic to the Heroic verse in their tragedies, not only as the first has a kind of dignity better adapted to the stage, but whilst it approaches nearer to prose, retains sufficiently the air of poetry to please the ear, and yet has too little of it to put the audience in mind of the poet, who ought not to appear at all in representations, where other persons are supposed to speak and act. Monsieur Dacier makes a very just reflection in this respect. He says, that it is the misfortune of our tragedy, to have almost no other verse than what it has in common with epic poetry, elegy, pastoral, satire, and comedy; whereas the learned languages have a great variety of versification.

This inconvenience is highly obvious in our tragedy; which cannot avoid being removed by it from the natural and probable, as it obliges heroes, princes, kings, and queens, to express themselves in a pompous strain in their familiar conversation, which it would be ridiculous to attempt in real life. The giving utterance to the most impetuous passions in an uniform cadence, and by hemistichs, and rhymes, would undoubtedly be tedious and offensive to the ear, if the charms of poetry, the elegance of expression, and the spirit of the sentiments, and perhaps, more than all of them, the resistless force of custom, had not in a manner subjected our reason, and illuded our judgment.

It was not chance, therefore, which suggested to the Greeks the use of Iambics in their tragedy. Nature itself

seems to have dictated that kind of verse to them. Instructed by the same unerring guide, they made choice of a different versification for the chorus, more capable of affecting, and of being sung; because it was necessary for the poetry to shine out in all its lustre, whilst the free conversation between the real actors was suspended. The chorus was an embellishment of the representation, and a relaxation of the audience, and therefore required more exalted poetry and numbers to support it; when united with music and dancing.

SECT. III. *Of the antient, middle, and new comedy.*

WHILST tragedy rose in this manner at Athens, comedy, the second species of dramatic poetry, and which, till then, had been much neglected, began to be cultivated with more attention. Nature was the common parent of both. We are sensibly affected with the dangers, distresses, misfortunes, and, in a word, with whatever relates to the lives and conduct of illustrious persons; and this gave birth to tragedy. And we are as curious to know the adventures, conduct, and defects of our equals; which supply us with occasions of laughing, and being merry at the expence of others. Hence comedy derives itself; which is properly an image of private life. Its design is, to expose defects and vices upon the stage, and by affixing ridicule to them, to make them contemptible; and consequently to instruct by diverting. Ridicule therefore, (or, to express the same word by another, pleasantry) ought to prevail in comedy.

This poem took at different times three different forms at Athens, as well from the genius of the poets, as from the influence of the government; which occasioned various alterations in it.

The antient comedy, so called \* by Horace, and which he dates after the time of Æschylus, retained something of its original rudeness, and the liberty it had been used to take of buffooning and reviling the spectators from the

\* *Successit vetus his comoedia non sine multa*

*Laude.*

*Hor. in art. poet.*

cart of Theſpis. Though it was become regular in its plan, and worthy of a great theatre, it had not learned to be more reſerved. It repreſented real tranſactions, with the names, habits, geſtures, and likenefs in masks, of whomſoever it thought fit to ſacrifice to the public deriſion. In a ſtate where it was held good policy to unmask whatever carried the air of ambition, ſingularity, or knavery, comedy aſſumed the privilege to harangue, reform and adviſe the people, upon the moſt important occaſions and intereſts. Nothing was ſpared in a city of ſo much liberty, or rather licence, as Athens was at that time. Generals, magiſtrates, government, the very gods, were abandoned to the poet's ſatyric vein; and all was well received, provided the comedy was diverting, and the Attic ſalt not wanting.

(x) In one of theſe comedies, not only the prieſt of Jupiter determines to quit his ſervice, becauſe more ſacrifices are not offered to the god; but Mercury himſelf comes in a ſtarving condition to ſeek his fortune amongſt mankind, and offers to ſerve as a porter, ſutler, bailiff, guide, door-keeper, in ſhort, in any capacity, rather than return to heaven. In another (y), the ſame gods, in extreme want and neceſſity, from the birds having built a city in the air, whereby their proviſions are cut off, and the ſmoke of incenſe and ſacrifices prevented from aſcending to heaven, depute three ambaffadors, in the name of Jupiter, to conclude a treaty of accommodation with the birds, upon ſuch conditions as they ſhall approve. The chamber of audience, where the three famiſhed gods are received, is a kitchen well ſtored with excellent game of all ſorts. Here Hercules, deeply ſmitten with the ſmell of roaſt meat, which he apprehends to be more exquisite and nutritious than that of incenſe, begs leave to make his abode, and to turn the ſpit, and aſſiſt the cook upon occaſion. The other pieces of Ariſtophanes abound with ſtrokes ſtill more ſatirical and ſevere upon the principal divinities.

I am not much ſurprized at the poet's inſulting the gods, and treating them with the utmoſt contempt, from whom he had nothing to fear: but I cannot help wondering at

(x) Plutus.

(y) The Birds.

his having brought the most illustrious and powerful persons of Athens upon the stage, and that he presumed to attack the government itself, without any manner of respect or reserve.

Cleon, having returned triumphant, contrary to the general expectation, from the expedition against Sphacteria, was looked upon by the people as the greatest captain of that age. Aristophanes, to set that bad man in a true light, who was the son of a currier, and a currier himself, and whose rise was owing solely to his temerity and impudence, was so bold as to make him the subject of a comedy (2), without being awed by his power and reputation: but he was obliged to play the part of Cleon himself, and appeared for the first time, upon the stage in that character; not one of the comedians daring to represent him, nor to expose himself to the resentment of so formidable an enemy. His face was smeared over with wine lees; because no workman could be found, that would venture to make a mask resembling Cleon, as was usual, when persons were brought upon the stage. In this piece, he reproaches him with embezzling the public treasures, with a violent passion for bribes and presents, with craft in seducing the people, and denies him the glory of the action at Sphacteria, which he attributes chiefly to the share his colleague had in it.

In the *Acharnians*, he accuses Lamachus of having been made general rather by bribery than merit. He imputes to him his youth, inexperience, and idleness; at the same time that he, and many others, convert to their own use the rewards due only to valour and real services. He reproaches the republic with their preference of the younger citizens to the elder in the government of the state, and the command of armies. He tells them plainly, that when the peace shall be concluded, neither Cleonymus, Hyperbolus, nor many other such knaves, all mentioned by name, shall have any share in the public affairs; they being always ready to accuse their fellow-citizens of crimes, and to enrich themselves by such informations.

(2) The Knights.



In his comedy called the *Wasps*, imitated by Racine in his *plaideurs*, he exposes the mad passion of the people for prosecutions and trials at law, and the enormous injustice frequently committed in passing sentence and giving judgment.

The poet (a), concerned to see the republic obstinately bent upon the unhappy expedition of Sicily, endeavours to excite in the people a final disgust for so ruinous a war, and to inspire them with the desire of a peace, as much the interest of the victors as the vanquished, after a war of several years duration, equally pernicious to each party, and capable of involving all Greece in ruin.

None of Aristophanes's pieces explains better his boldness, in speaking upon the most delicate affairs of the state in the crowded theatre, than his comedy called *Lysistrata*. One of the principal magistrates of Athens had a wife of that name, who is supposed to have taken it into her head to compel Greece to conclude a peace. She relates, how, during the war, the women inquiring of their husbands the result of their counsels, and whether they had not resolved to make peace with Sparta, received no answers but imperious looks, and orders to meddle with their own affairs: that, however, they perceived plainly to what a low condition the government was declined: that they took the liberty to remonstrate mildly to their husbands upon the rashness of their counsels; but that their humble representations had no other effect than to offend and enrage them: that, in fine, being confirmed by the general opinion of all Attica, that there were no longer any men in the state, nor heads for the administration of affairs, their patience being quite exhausted, the women had thought it proper and adviseable to take the government upon themselves, and to preserve Greece, whether it would or no, from the folly and madness of its resolves. "For her part," she declares, "that she has taken possession of the city and treasury, in order," says she, "to prevent Pylarchus and his confederates, the four hundred administra-

(a) The poet,

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"tors, from exciting troubles, according to their custom, and from robbing the public as usual." (Was ever any thing so bold?) She goes on with proving, that the women only are capable of retrieving affairs, by this burlesque argument; that, admitting things to be in such a state of perplexity and confusion, the sex, accustomed to untangling their threads, were the only persons to set them right again, as being best qualified with the necessary address, temper, and moderation. The Athenian politics are thus made inferior to the abilities of the women, which are only represented in a ridiculous light, to turn the derision upon their husbands in the administration of the government.

These extracts from Aristophanes, taken almost word for word from Father Brumoi, seemed to me very proper for a right understanding at once of that poet's character, and the genius of the antient comedy, which was, as we see, a true satire, of the most poignant and severe kind, that had assumed to itself an independence from respect to persons, and to which nothing was sacred. It is no wonder that Cicero condemns so licentious and excessive a liberty. \* It might, he says, have been tolerable, had it only attacked bad citizens, and seditious orators, who endeavoured to raise commotions in the state; such as Cleon, Cleophon, and Hyperbolus: but when a Pericles, who, for many years had governed the common wealth both in war and peace, with equal wisdom and authority, (he might have added, and a Socrates declared by Apollo the wisest of mankind), is brought upon the stage to be laughed at by the public, it is as if our Plautus or Naevius had fallen upon the Scipios, or Caecilius relieved Marcus Cato in his writings.

That liberty is still more offensive to us, who are born

\* *Quem illa non attigit, vel potius quem non vexavit? esto, populares homines, improbos, in remp. seditiosos, Cleonem, Cleophontem, Hyperbolum laesit: patiamur.---Sed Periclem, cum jam suae civitatis maxima auctoritate plurimos annos domi et belli praefuisset, violari versibus, et eos agi in scena, non plus deuit, quam si Plautus noster voluisset, aut Naevius, P. et Cn. Scipioni, aut Caecilius M. Catoni maledicere. Ex. Fragm. Cic. de rep. l. 4.*

in, and live under a monarchical government, which is far from being favourable to licence. But without intending to justify the conduct of Aristophanes, which, to judge properly of it, is inexcusable, I think it would be necessary to lay aside the prejudices of nature, nations, and times, and to imagine we live in those remote ages, in a state purely democratical. We must not fancy Aristophanes to have been a person of little consequence in his republic, as the comic writers generally are in our days. The King of Persia had a very different idea of him. (b) It is a known story, that, in an audience of the Greek ambassadors, his first inquiry was after a certain comic poet, (meaning Aristophanes), that put all Greece in motion, and gave such effectual counsels against him. Aristophanes did that upon the stage, which Demosthenes did afterwards in the public assemblies. The poet's reproaches were no less animated than the orator's. His comedies spoke a language that became the counsels of the republic. It was addressed to the same people, upon the same occasions of the state, the same means to success, and the same obstacles to their measures. In Athens, the whole people were the sovereign, and each of them had an equal share in the supreme authority. Upon this they were continually intent, were fond of discoursing themselves, and of hearing the sentiments of others. The public affairs were the business of every individual; in which they were desirous of being fully informed, that they might know how to conduct themselves on every occasion of war or peace, which frequently offered, and to distinguish upon their own, as well as upon the destiny of their allies, or enemies. Hence rose the liberty, taken by the comic poets, of introducing the affairs of the state into their performances. The people were so far from being offended at it, or at the manner in which those writers treated the principal persons of the state, that they conceived their liberty in some measure to consist in it.

Three \* persons particularly excelled in the antient

(b) Aristoph. in Acharn.

\* " Eupolis atque Cratinus, Aristophanesque poetae.

" Atque alii, quorum comœdia prisca virorum est,

" quis dignus, describi quod malus, aut fur,

\* Ant.  
sola retin

comedy; Eupolis, Cratinus, and Aristophanes. The last is the only one of them, whose pieces have come entire down to us, and, out of the great number of those, eleven are all that remain. He flourished in an age when Greece abounded with great men, and was contemporary with Socrates and Euripides, whom he survived. During the Peloponnesian war he made his greatest figure; less as a writer to amuse the people with his comedies, than as a censor of the government, retained to reform the state, and to be almost the arbiter of his country.

He is admired for an elegance, poignancy, and happiness of expression, or, in a word, that Attic salt and spirit, to which the Roman language could never attain, and for \* which Aristophanes is more remarkable than any other of the Greek authors. His particular excellence was raillery. None ever touched the ridicule in characters with such success, or knew better how to convey it in all its force to others. But it were necessary to have lived in his times for a right taste of his works. The subtle salt and spirit of the antient raillery, according to Mr. Brumoi, is evaporated through length of time, and what remains of it is become flat and insipid to us; though the sharpest part will retain its vigour throughout all ages.

Two considerable defects are justly imputed to this poet, which very much obscure, if not entirely efface, his glory. These are low buffoonery, and gross obscenity; which objections have been opposed to no purpose from the cha-

" Quon moechus foret, aut sicarius, aut alioqui

" Famosus; multa cum libertate notabant. Har. sat. 4. l. 2.

With Aristophanes' satiric rage,

When antient comedy amus'd the age,

Or Eupolis's, or Cratinus' wit;

And others that all-licens'd poem writ;

None, worthy to be shewn, escap'd the scene,

No public knave, or thief of lofty mien;

The loose adulterer was drawn forth to light;

The secret murth'rer trembling, lurk'd the night;

Vice play'd itself, and each ambitious spark;

All boldly branded with the poet's mark.

\* Antiqua comoedia sinceram illam sermonis Attici gratiam prope sola retinet. Quintil.



rafter of his audience; the bulk of which generally consisted of the poor, the ignorant, and dregs of the people, whom, however, it was as necessary to please as the learned and the rich. The depravity of the inferior people's taste, which once banished Cratinus and his company, because his scenes were not grossly comic enough for them, is no excuse for Aristophanes; as Menander could find out the art of changing that groveling taste, by introducing a species of comedy, not altogether so modest as Plutarch seems to insinuate, yet much chaster than any before his time.

The gross obscenities, with which all Aristophanes's comedies abound, have no excuse; they only denote an excessive libertinism in the spectators, and depravity in the poet. The utmost salt that could have been bestowed upon them, which however is not the case, would not have atoned for laughing himself, or for making others laugh, at the expence of decency and good manners\*. And in this case it may well be said, that it were better to have no wit at all than to make so ill an use of it†. Mr. Brumoi is very much to be commended for his having taken care, in giving a general idea of Aristophanes's writings, to throw a veil over those parts of them, that might have given offence to modesty. Though such behaviour be the indispensable rule of religion, it is not always observed by those who pique themselves most on their erudition, and sometimes prefer the title of Scholar to that of Christian.

The antient comedy subsisted till Lyfander's time, who, upon having made himself master of Athens, changed the form of the government, and put it into the hands of thirty of the principal citizens. The satirical liberty of the theatre was offensive to them, and therefore they thought fit to put a stop to it. The reason of this alteration is evident, and makes good the reflection made before upon the privilege of the poets, to criticise with impunity upon the persons at the head of the state. The whole authority of Athens was then vested in tyrants. The democracy was abolished.

\* *Nimium risus pretium est, si probitatis impendio constat.* Quintil. 1. vi. c. 3.

† *Non pejus duxerim tardi ingenii esse quam mali.* Quintil. 1. i. c. 3.

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The people had no longer any share in the government. They were no more the prince; their sovereignty had expired. The right of giving their opinions and suffrages upon affairs of state was at an end; nor dared they, either in their own persons, or by the poets, presume to censure the sentiments and conduct of their masters. The calling persons by their names upon the stage was prohibited: but the poetical spirit soon found the secret to elude the intention of the law, and to make itself amends for the restraint it suffered, in the necessity of using feigned names. It then applied to the discovery of the ridicule in known characters, which it copied to the life, and from thence acquired the double advantage of gratifying the vanity of the poets, and the malice of the audience, in a more refined manner. The one had the delicate pleasure of putting the spectators, upon guessing their meaning, and the other, of not being mistaken in their suppositions, and of affixing the right name to the characters represented. Such was the comedy, since called *the middle comedy*, of which there are some instances in Aristophanes.

It continued till the time of Alexander the great, who, having entirely assured himself of the empire of Greece by the defeat of the Thebans, occasioned the putting a check upon the licence of the poets, which increased daily. From thence the new comedy took its birth, which was only an imitation of private life, and brought nothing upon the stage with feigned names, and supposititious adventures.

(c) *Chacun peint avec art dans ce nouveau miroir  
S'y vit avec plaisir, ou crut ne s'y pas voir.*

*L'avare des premiers rit du tableau fidele*

*D'un avare souvent tracé sur son modele;*

*Et mille fois un fat, finement exprimé,*

*Meconnut le portrait sur lui-meme formé.*

In this new glass, whilst each himself survey'd,

He sat with pleasure, though himself was play'd:

The miser grinn'd whilst avarice was drawn,

Nor thought the faithful likeness was his own;

(c) Boileau art. poet. cant. 3.

His own dear self no imag'd fool could find,  
But saw a thousand other fops desig'd.

This may properly be called *fine-comedy*, and is that of Menander. Of one hundred and eighty, or rather eighty, according to Suidas, composed by him, all of which Terence is said to have translated, there remains only a few fragments. The merit of the originals may be judged from the excellence of their copy. Quintilian, in speaking of Menander, is not afraid to say, that, with the beauty of his works, and the height of his reputation, he obscured, or rather obliterated, the fame of all the writers in the same way. He observes in another passage, that his own times were not so just to his merit as they ought to have been, which has been the fate of many others; but that he was sufficiently made amends by the favourable opinion of posterity. And indeed Philemon, a comic poet of the same age, though prior to him, was preferred before him.

#### SECT. IV. *The theatre of the antients described.*

I HAVE already observed, that Æschylus was the first founder of a fixed and durable theatre adorned with suitable decorations. It was at first, as well as the amphitheatres, composed of wooden planks; but those breaking down, by having too great a weight upon them, the Athenians, excessively enamoured of dramatic representations, were induced by that accident to erect those superb structures, which were imitated afterwards with so much splendor by the Roman magnificence. What I shall say of them, has almost as much relation to the Roman as the Athenian theatres; and is extracted entirely from Mr. Boindin's learned dissertation upon the theatre of the antients (d), who has treated the subject in all its extent.

The theatre of the antients was divided into three principal parts; each of which had its peculiar appellation. The division for the Actors was called in general *the scene*, or

(d) Memoirs of the acad. of inscript. &c. vol. i. p. 136. &c.

\* Quidam, sicut Menander, justiora posterorum, quam suæ ætatis, judicia sunt consecuti. Quintil. l. iii. c. 6.

*stage*; that for the spectators was particularly termed *the theatre*, which must have been of vast extent (e), as at Athens it was capable of containing above thirty thousand persons; and *the orchestra*, which amongst the Greeks was the place assigned for the pantomimes and dancers, though at Rome it was appropriated to the senators and vestal virgins.

The theatre was of a semicircular form on one side, and square on the other. The space contained within the semicircle, was allotted to the spectators, and had seats placed one above another to the top of the building. The square part, in the front of it, was the actor's division; and in the interval between both was the orchestra.

The great theatres had three rows of porticos, raised one upon another, which formed the body of the edifice, and at the same time three different stories for the seats. From the highest of those porticos the women saw the representation, covered from the weather. The rest of the theatre was uncovered, and all the business of the stage was performed in the open air.

Each of these stories consisted of nine rows of seats, including the landing-place, which divided them from each other, and served as a passage from side to side. But as this landing-place and passage took up the space of two benches, there were only seven to sit upon, and, consequently, in each story there were seven rows of seats. They were from fifteen to eighteen inches in height, and twice as much in breadth; so that the spectators had room to sit with their legs extended, and without being incommoded by those of the people above them; no foot-boards being provided for them.

Each of these stories of benches were divided in two different manners; in their height, by the landing-places, called by the Romans *Praecincliones*; and in their circumferences by several stair-cases, peculiar to each story, which, intersecting them in right lines, tending towards the centre of the theatre, gave the form of wedges to the quantity

(e) Strab. l. ix. p. 393.; Herod. l. viii. c. 65.



of seats between them, from whence they were called *Cunei*.

Behind these stories of seats were covered galleries, through which the people thronged into the theatre by great square openings, contrived for that purpose in the walls next the seats. Those openings were called *Vomitoria*, from the multitude of the people crouding through them into their places.

As the actors could not be heard to the extremity of the theatre, the Greeks contrived a means to supply that defect, and to augment the force of the voice, and make it more distinct and articulate. For that purpose they invented a kind of large vessels of copper, which were disposed under the seats of the theatre in such a manner, as made all sounds strike upon the ear with more force and distinction.

The orchestra being situated, as I have observed, between the two other parts of the theatre, of which one was circular, and the other square, it participated of the form of each, and occupied the space between both. It was divided into three parts.

The first and most considerable was more particularly called *the orchestra*, from a Greek word (*ορχηστρα*) that signifies *to dance*. It was appropriated to the pantomimes and dancers, and to all such subaltern actors, as played between the acts, and at the end of the representations.

The second was named *θυμια*, from its being square in the form of an altar. Here the chorus was generally placed.

And in the third, the Greeks generally bestowed their symphony, or band of music. They called it *υποσκηνη*, from its being situate at the bottom of the principal part of the theatre, which they styled the *scenes*.

I shall describe here this third part of the theatre, called *the scenes*; which was also subdivided into three different parts.

The first and most considerable was properly called *the scenes*, and gave name to this whole division. It occupied the whole front of the building from side to side, and was

the place allotted for the decorations. This front had two small wings at its extremity, from which hung a large curtain, that was let down to open the scene, and drawn up between the acts, when any thing in the representation made it necessary.

The second, called by the Greeks indifferently *προσκήνιον*, and *λογίον*, and by the Romans *Proscenium*, and *Pulpitum*, was a large and open space in front of the scene, in which the actors performed their parts, and which, by the help of the decorations, represented either the public place or forum, a common street, or the country; but the place so represented was always in the open air.

The third division was a part reserved behind the scenes, and called by the Greeks, *παρεκκλήσιον*. Here the actors dressed themselves, and the decorations were locked up. In the same place were also kept the machines, of which the ancients had abundance in their theatres.

As only the porticos and the building of the scene were roofed, it was necessary to draw sails, fastened with cords to masts, over the rest of the theatre, to screen the audience from the heat of the sun. But as this contrivance did not prevent the heat, occasioned by the perspiration and breath of so numerous an assembly, the ancients took care to allay it by a kind of rain; conveying the water for that use above the porticos, which falling again in form of dew through an infinity of small pores, concealed in the statues, with which the theatre abounded, did not only diffuse a grateful coolness all around; but the most fragrant exhalations along with it; for this dew was always perfumed. Whenever the representations were interrupted by storms, the spectators retired into the porticos behind the seats of the theatre.

The passion of the Athenians for representations of this kind is not conceivable. Their eyes, their ears, their imagination, their understanding, all shared in the satisfaction. Nothing gave them so sensible a pleasure in dramatic performances, either tragic or comic, as the strokes which were aimed at the affairs of the public; whether pure chance occasioned the application, or the address of

the poets, who knew how to reconcile the most remote subjects with the transactions of the republic. They entered by that means into the interests of the people, took occasion to sooth their passions, authorise their pretensions, justify and sometimes condemn their conduct, entertain them with agreeable hopes, instruct them in their duty in certain nice conjunctures; in effect of which they often not only acquired the applauses of the spectators, but credit and influence in the public affairs and counsels: hence the theatre became so grateful, and so much the concern of the people. It was in this manner, according to some authors, that Euripides artfully reconciled his tragedy of \*Palamedes with the sentence passed against Socrates, and explained, by an illustrious example of antiquity, the innocence of a philosopher, oppressed by a vile malignity supported against him by power and faction.

Accident was often the occasion of sudden and unforeseen applications, which from their appositeness were very agreeable to the people. Upon this verse of Æschylus in praise of Amphiaraus,

—————'Tis his desire

*Not to appear, but be the great and good.*

the whole audience rose up, and unanimously applied it to Aristides (g). The same thing happened to Philopoemen at the Nemaean games. At the instant he entered the theatre, these verses were singing upon the stage,

—————*He comes, to whom we owe  
Our liberty, the noblest good below.*

All the Greeks cast their eyes upon Philopoemen (h), and, with clapping of hands, and acclamations of joy, expressed their veneration for the hero.

(i) In the same manner at Rome, during the banishment

(i) Cic. in orat. pro Sext. n. 120-----123.

(g) Plut. in Aristid. p. 320. (h) Plut. in Philopoem. p. 362.

\* It is not certain whether this piece was prior or posterior to the death of Socrates.

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of Cicero, when some verses of \* Accius, which reproached the Greeks with their ingratitude in suffering the banishment of Telamon, were repeated by Æsop, the best actor of his time, they drew tears from the eyes of the whole assembly.

Upon another, though very different occasion, the Roman people applied to Pompey the Great some verses to this effect.

(k) *'Tis our unhappiness has made thee great ;*  
and then addressing to the people,

*The time shall come when you shall late deplore  
So great a power confided to such hands.*

The spectators obliged the actor to repeat these verses several times.

SECT. V. *Passion for the representations of the theatre, one of the principal causes of the degeneracy and corruption of the Athenian state.*

WHEN we compare the happy times of Greece, in which Europe and Asia resounded with nothing but the fame of the Athenian victories, with the later ages when the power of Philip and Alexander the great had in a manner subjected it, we shall be surprized at the strange alteration in the affairs of that republic. But what is most material, is the knowledge of the causes and progress of this declension ; and these Mr. de Toureil has discussed in an admirable manner in the preface to his translation of Demosthenes's orations.

There was no longer at Athens any traces of that manly and vigorous policy, equally capable of planning good, and retrieving bad, success. Instead of that, there remained only an inconsistent loftiness, apt to evaporate in pompous decrees. They were no more those Athenians, who, when menaced by a deluge of barbarians, demolished their houses to build ships with the timber, and whose women stoned

(k) Cic. ad Attic. l. ii. epist. 19. ; Val. Max. l. vi. c. 2.

\* O ingratici Argivi, inanes Graii, immemores beneficii,  
Exulare sivistis, sivistis pelli, pulsum patimini,



the abject wretch to death, that proposed to appease the grand monarch by tribute or homage. The love of ease and pleasure had almost entirely extinguished that of glory, liberty, and independence.

Pericles, that great man, so absolute, that those who envied him treated him as a second Pisistratus, was the first author of this degeneracy and corruption. With the design of conciliating the favour of the people, he ordained, that upon such days as games or sacrifices were celebrated, a certain number of oboli should be distributed amongst them; and that in the assemblies, in which affairs of state were to be transacted, every individual should receive a certain pecuniary gratification in right of presence. Thus the members of the republic were seen for the first time to sell their care in the administration of the government, and to rank amongst servile employments the most noble functions of the sovereign power.

It was not difficult to foresee where so excessive an abuse would end; and to remedy it, it was proposed to establish a fund for the support of a war, and to make it capital to advise, upon any account whatsoever, the application of it to other uses. But notwithstanding the abuse always subsisted. At first it seemed tolerable, whilst the citizen who was supported at the public expence, endeavoured to deserve its liberality by doing his duty in the field for nine months together. Every one was to serve in his turn, and whoever failed, was treated as a deserter without distinction: but at length the number of the transgressors carried it against the law; and impunity, as it commonly happens, multiplied their number. People accustomed to the delightful abode of a city, where feasts and games ran in a perpetual circle, conceived an invincible repugnance for labour and fatigue, which they looked upon as unworthy of free-born men.

It was therefore necessary to find amusement for this indolent people, to fill up the great void of an inactive useless life. Hence arose principally their passion, or rather frenzy for public shews. The death of Epaminondas, which seemed to promise them the greatest advantages, gave the final stroke to their ruin and destruction. "Their

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courage," says Justin (l), *did not survive that illustrious Theban. Free from a rival, who kept their emulation alive, they sunk into lethargic sloth and effeminacy. The funds for armaments by land and sea were soon lavished upon games and feasts. The seaman's and soldier's pay was distributed to the idle citizen, enervated in soft luxurious habits of life. The representations of the theatre were preferred to the exercises of the camp. Valour and military knowledge were entirely disregarded. Great captains were in no estimation; whilst good poets and excellent comedians ingrossed the universal applause."*

Extravagance of this kind makes it easy to comprehend in what multitudes the people thronged to the dramatic performances. As no expence was spared in embellishing them, exorbitant sums were sunk in the service of the theatre. If, says Plutarch (m), what each representation of the dramatic pieces cost the Athenians were rightly calculated, it would appear, that their expences in playing the Bacchanalians, the Phoenicians, OEdipus, Antigone, Medea, and Electra, (tragedies written either by Sophocles or Euripides), were greater than those which had been employed against the barbarians in the defence of the liberty and for the preservation of Greece. (n) This gave a Spartan just reason to cry out, on seeing an estimate of the enormous sums laid out in the disputes of the tragic poets; and the extraordinary pains taken by the magistrates who presided in them, that a people must be void of sense to apply themselves in so warm and serious a manner to things so frivolous. "For," added he, *games should be only games; and nothing is more unreasonable than to purchase a short and trivial amusement at so great a price. Pleasures of this kind agree only with public rejoicings, and seasons of festivity, and were designed to divert people at their leisure hours; but should by no means interfere with the affairs of the public, nor the necessary expences of the government.*

After all, says Plutarch, in a passage which I have already

(l) Justin. l. vi. c. 9. (m) Plut. de glo. Athen. p. 394.

(n) Id. Sympof. l. vii. quaest. 7. p. 710.

ready cited, of what utility hath these tragedies been to Athens, though so much boasted by the people, and admired by the rest of the world? We find, that the prudence of Themistocles inclosed the city with strong walls; that the fine taste and magnificence of Pericles improved and adorned it; that the noble fortitude of Miltiades preserved its liberty; and that the moderate conduct of Cimon acquired it the empire and government of all Greece. If the wise and learned poetry of Euripides, the sublime diction of Sophocles, the lofty buskin of Æschylus, have obtained equal advantages for the city of Athens, by delivering it from impending calamities, or by adding to its glory, I consent, (in Plutarch's words), that dramatic pieces should be ranked with trophies of victory, the poetic scenes with the fields of battle, and the compositions of the poets with the great exploits of the generals. But what a comparison would this be? On the one side would be seen a few writers, crowned with wreaths of ivy, and dragging a goat or an ox after them, the rewards and victims assigned them for excelling in tragic poetry: on the other, a train of illustrious captains, surrounded with colonies founded, cities taken, and nations subjected by their wisdom and valour. It is not to perpetuate the victories of Æschylus and Sophocles, but in remembrance of the glorious battles of Marathon, Salamin, Eurymedon, and many others, that several feasts are celebrated every month by the Grecians.

The conclusion of Plutarch from hence, in which we ought to agree with him, is, that it was the highest imprudence in the \* Athenians, to prefer pleasure to duty, the passion for the theatre to the love of their country, trivial representations to the application to public business; and to consume in useless expences and dramatic entertainments, the funds intended for the support of fleets and armies. Macedon, till then obscure and inconsiderable,

\* Αμαρτανυσιν Αθηναιοι μεγαλα, την σπουδην εις την παιδιαν καταναλισκοντες, τοιςσι μεγαλων αποστολων δαπανας και στρατιωµατων εροδια κατα χορηγουντες εις το διατρεν.

well knew how to take advantage of the † Athenian indolence and effeminacy; and Philip, instructed by the Greeks themselves, amongst whom he had for several years applied himself successfully to the art of war, was not long before he gave Greece a master, and subjected it to the yoke, as we shall see in the sequel.

† Quibus rebus effectum est, ut, inter otia Graecorum, sordidum et obscurum antea Macedonum nomen emergeret; et Philippus, ob ses triennio Thebis habitus, Epaminondae et Pelopidae virtutibus eruditus, regnum Macedoniae, Graeciae, et Asiae cervicibus, velat jugum servitutis, imponeret. Justin. l. vi. c. 9.

B O O K



# BOOK THE ELEVENTH.

## THE HISTORY OF

DIONYSIUS the Elder and Younger,  
Tyrants of SYRACUSE.

**S**YRACUSE had regained its liberty about sixty years, by the expulsion of the family of Gelon. The events which passed in that interval, except the invasion of the Athenians, are of no great importance, and little known: but those which follow are of a different nature, and make amends for the chasm; I mean the reigns of Dionysius the father and son, tyrants of Syracuse; the first of whom governed thirty-eight and the \* other twelve, in all fifty years. As this history is entirely foreign to what passed in Greece at the same time, I shall relate it in this place all together and by itself; observing only, that the first twenty years of it, upon which I am now entering, agree almost in point of time, with the last twenty of the preceding volume.

This history will present to our view a series of the most odious and horrid crimes, though it abounds at the same

\* After having been expelled for more than ten years, he re-ascended the throne, and reigned two or three years.

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time with instruction. When, \* on the one side, we behold a prince, the declared enemy of liberty, justice, and laws, treading under his feet the most sacred rights of nature and religion, inflicting the most cruel torments upon his subjects, beheading some, burning others, for a slight word, delighting and feasting himself with human blood, and gratifying his savage inhumanity with the sufferings and miseries of every age and condition: I say, when we behold such an object, can we deny a truth, which the Pagan world itself hath confessed, and Plutarch takes occasion to observe, in speaking of the tyrants of Sicily, That God in his anger gives such princes to a people, and makes use of the impious and the wicked to punish the guilty and the criminal? On the other side, when the same prince, the dread and terror of Syracuse, is perpetually anxious and trembling for his own life, and abandoned to remorse and regret, can find no person in his whole state, not even his wives or children, in whom he can confide; who will not think with Tacitus, † *That it is not without reason the oracle of wisdom has declared, That if the hearts of tyrants could be seen, we should find them torn in pieces with a thousand evils; it being certain, that the body does not suffer more from inflictions and torments, than the minds of such wretches from their crimes, cruelties, and the injustice and violence of their proceedings?*

The condition of a good prince is quite different. He loves his people, and is beloved by them; he enjoys a perfect tranquillity within himself, and lives with his subjects as a father with his children. Though he knows that the sword of justice is in his hands, he apprehends the use of it. He loves to turn aside its edge, and can never resolve

\* *Erit Dionysius illic tyrannus, libertatis, justitiae, legum exitium. -- Alios uret, alios verberabit, alios ob levem offensam jubebit detruncari.* Senec. de consol. ad Marc. c. 17.

*Sanguine humano non tantum gaudet, sed pascitur; sed et supplicii omnium aetatum crudelitatem insatiabilem explet.* Id. de benef. l. vii. c. 19.

† *Neque frustra praestantissimus sapientiae firmare solitus est, si recludantur tyrannorum mentes, posse aspici laniatus et ictus; quando, ut corpora verberibus, ita saevitia, libidine, malis consultis animus dilaceraretur.* Tacit. annal. l. vi. c. 6.

to evidence his power, but with extreme reluctance, in the last extremity, and with all the forms and sanction of the \* laws. A tyrant punishes only from caprice and passion; and believes, says Plutarch upon Dionysius, that he is not really † master, and does not act with supreme authority, but as he sets himself above all laws, has no other but his will and pleasure, and sees himself obeyed implicitly. Whereas, continues the same author, he that can do whatever he will, is in great danger of doing what he ought not.

Besides these characteristics of cruelty and tyranny, which particularly distinguish the first Dionysius, we shall see in his history, whatever unbounded ambition, sustained by great valour, extensive abilities, and necessary talents for acquiring the confidence of a people, is capable of undertaking for the attainment of sovereignty; the various means he had the address to employ, for the maintaining himself in it against the opposition of his enemies, and the odium of the public; and, lastly, the tyrant's success in escaping, during a reign of thirty eight years, the many conspiracies formed against him, and in transmitting peaceably the tyranny to his son, as a legitimate possession, and a right of inheritance.

## C H A P. I.

**T**HIS chapter contains the history of Dionysius the elder, who reigned thirty-eight years.

SECT. I. *Means made use of by Dionysius the elder to possess himself of the Tyranny.*

(a) **D**IONYSIUS was a native of Syracuse, of noble and illustrious extraction according to some; but

(a) Diod. l. xiii. p. 197.

\* Haec est in maxima potestate verissima animi temperantia, non cupiditate aliqua, non temeritate incendi; non priorum principum exemplis corruptum, quantum in cives suos liceat, experiendo tentare; sed hebetare aciem imperii sui --- Quid interest inter tyrannum et regem, (species enim ipsa fortunae ac licentia par est), nisi quod tyranni in voluptate saeviunt, reges non nisi ex causa et necessitate? Senec. de clem. lib. i. c. 11.

† Εφη απολαυειν μαλιστα της αρχης οταν ταχως α βυλιστα ποιη-  
μας αν ο κινδυνος βυλισθαι α μη δει, τον α βυλιστα ποιειν δυναμενον,  
Ad princ. indoct. p. 782.

(b) In the  
p. 103—10  
Vol. V.

others say his birth was base and obscure. However it was, he distinguished himself by his valour, and acquired great reputation in a war with the Carthaginians. He was one of those who accompanied Hermocrates, when he attempted to re-enter Syracuse by force of arms, after having been banished through the intrigues of his enemies. The event of that enterprize was not happy. Hermocrates was killed. The Syracusans did not spare his accomplices, several of whom were publicly executed. Dionysius was left amongst the wounded. The report of his death, designedly given out by his relations, saved his life. Providence had spared Syracuse an infinity of misfortunes, had he expired either upon the spot, or by the executioner.

The Carthaginians had made several attempts to establish themselves in Sicily, and to possess themselves of the principal towns of that island, as we have observed elsewhere (b). Its happy situation for their maritime commerce, the fertility of its soil, and the riches of its inhabitants, were powerful inducements to such an enterprize. We may form an idea of the wealth of its cities, from Diodorus Siculus's account of Agrigentum (c). The temples were of extraordinary magnificence, especially that of Jupiter Olympius, which was three hundred and forty feet in length, sixty in breadth, and one hundred and twenty in height. The piazzas or galleries, in their extent and beauty, answered to the rest of the building. On one side was represented the battle of the giants, on the other, the taking of Troy, in figures as large as the life. Without the city was an artificial lake, which was seven stadia (above a quarter of a league) in circumference. It was full of all kinds of fish, covered with swans and other water-fowls, and afforded the most agreeable prospect imaginable.

It was about the time of which we speak, that Execestus, victor in the Olympic games, entered the city in triumph, in a magnificent chariot, attended by three hundred more, all drawn by white horses. Their habits were adorned with gold and silver; and nothing was ever more

(b) In the history of the Carthaginians, vol. i. (c) Diod. l. xiii. p. 203—206.



splendid than their appearance. Gellius, the most wealthy of the citizens of Agrigentum, erected several large apartments in his house, for the reception and entertainment of his guests. Servants waited by his order at the gates of the city, to invite all strangers to lodge at their master's house, whither they conducted them. Hospitality was much practised and esteemed by the generality of that city. A violent storm having obliged five hundred horsemen to take shelter there, Gellius entertained them all in his house, and supplied them immediately with dry cloaths, of which he had always a great quantity in his wardrobe. This is understanding how to make a noble use of riches. His cellar is much talked of by historians, in which he had three hundred reservoirs hewn out of the rock, each of which contained an hundred \* amphorae.

This great and opulent city was besieged, and at length taken by the Carthaginians. Its fall shook all Sicily, and spread an universal terror. The cause of its being lost, was imputed to the Syracusans, who had but weakly aided it. Dionysius, who, from that time, had no other thoughts but of his grand designs, and was secretly active in laying the foundations of his future power, took the advantage of this favourable opportunity, and of the general complaints of Sicily against the Syracusans, to render the magistrates odious, and to exclaim against their administration. In a public assembly, held to consider of the present state of affairs, when no body dared to open their mouths, for fear of the persons at the helm, Dionysius rose up, and boldly accused the magistrates of treason; adding, that it was his opinion, that they ought to be deposed immediately, without waiting till the term of their administration should expire. They retorted this audacity with treating him as a seditious person, and a disturber of the public tranquillity; and, as such, laid a fine upon him according to the laws. This was to be paid, before he could be admitted to speak again, and Dionysius was not in a condi-

\* An amphora contained about seven gallons; an hundred consequently consisted of seven hundred gallons, or eleven hogsheds seven gallons.

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tion to discharge it. Philistus, one of the richest citizens, (who wrote the history of Sicily, which is not come down to us), deposited the money, and exhorted him at the same time to give his opinion upon the state of affairs, with all the liberty which became a citizen zealous for his country.

Dionysius accordingly resumed his discourse with more vigor than before. He had long cultivated the habit of eloquence, which he looked upon with reason as a very necessary talent in a republican government; especially in his views of acquiring the people's favour, and of conciliating them to his measures. He began with describing in a lively and pathetic manner the ruin of Agrigentum, a neighbouring city in their alliance; the deplorable extremity to which the inhabitants had been reduced, of quitting the place under the cover of the night; the cries and lamentations of infants, and of aged and sick persons, whom they had been obliged to abandon to a cruel and merciless enemy; and the consequential murder of all who had been left in the city, whom the barbarous victor dragged from the temples and altars of the gods, feeble refuges against the Carthaginian fury and impiety. He imputed all these evils to the treachery of the commanders of the army, who, instead of marching to the relief of Agrigentum, had retreated with their troops; to the criminal protraction and delay of the magistrates, corrupted by Carthaginian bribes; and to the pride of the great and rich, who regarded nothing but establishing their own power upon the ruins of their country's liberty. He represented Syracuse as composed of two different bodies; the one, by their power and influence, usurping all the dignities and wealth of the state, the other, obscure, despised, and trod under foot, bearing the sad yoke of a shameful servitude, and rather slaves than citizens. He concluded with saying, that the only remedy for so many evils, was, to elect persons from amongst the people devoted to their interests, and who, not being capable of rendering themselves formidable by their riches and authority, would be solely employed for the public good, and apply in earnest to the re-establishment of the liberty of Syracuse.

This discourse was listened to with infinite pleasure, as all speeches are which flatter the natural propensity of inferiors to complain of the government; and was followed with the universal applause of the people, who always give themselves up blindly to those who know how to deceive them, under the specious pretext of serving their interest. All the magistrates were deposed upon the spot, and others substituted in their room, with Dionysius at the head of them.

This was only the first step to the tyranny, at which he did not stop. The success of his undertaking inspired him with new courage and confidence. He had also in view the displacing of the generals of the army, and to have their power transferred to himself. The design was bold and dangerous; and he applied to it with address. Before he attacked them openly, he planted his batteries against them at a distance; calumniating them by his emissaries to the people, and sparing no pains to render them suspected. He caused it to be whispered amongst the populace, that those commanders held secret intelligence with the enemy; that disguised couriers were frequently seen passing and repassing; and that it was not to be doubted, but some conspiracy was on foot. He affected on his side not to see those leaders, nor to open himself to them at all upon the affairs of the public. He communicated none of his designs to them; as if he was apprehensive of rendering himself suspected by having any intercourse or correspondence with them. Persons of sense and discernment were not at a loss to discover the tendency of these undermining arts; nor were they silent upon the occasion: but the common people, prejudiced in his favour, incessantly applauded and admired his zeal, and looked upon him as the sole protector and assertor of their rights and liberties.

Another scheme, which he set at work with his usual address, was of very great service to him, and exceedingly promoted his designs. There was a great number of banished persons dispersed throughout Sicily, whom the faction of the nobility of Syracuse had expelled the city

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at different times, and upon different pretences. He knew what an addition of strength so numerous a body of citizens would be to him, whom gratitude to a benefactor, and resentment against those who had occasioned their banishment, the hope of retrieving their affairs, and of enriching themselves out of the spoils of his enemies, rendered most proper for the execution of his designs, and attached unalterably to his person and interest. He applied therefore earnestly to obtain their recall. It was given out, that it was necessary to raise a numerous body of troops to oppose the progress of the Carthaginians, and the people were in great pain upon the expence to which the new levies would amount. Dionysius took the advantage of this favourable conjuncture, and the disposition of the public. He represented, that it was ridiculous to bring foreign troops at a great expence from Italy and Peloponnesus, whilst they might supply themselves with excellent soldiers, without being at any charge at all: that there were numbers of Syracusans in every part of Sicily, who, notwithstanding the ill treatment they had received, had always retained the hearts of citizens under the name and condition of exiles: that they preserved a tender affection and inviolable fidelity for their country, and had chose rather to wander about Sicily, without support or settlement, than to take a party in the armies of the enemy, however advantageous the offers to induce them to it had been. This discourse of Dionysius had all the effect upon the people he could have wished. His colleagues, who perceived plainly what he had in view, were afraid to contradict him; rightly judging, that their opposition would not only prove ineffectual, but incense the people against them, and even augment their reputation of Dionysius, to whom it would leave the honour of recalling the exiles. Their return was therefore decreed, and they accordingly came all to Syracuse without losing time.

A deputation from Gela, a city in the dependence of Syracuse, arrived about the same time, to demand that the garrison should be reinforced. Dionysius immediately marched thither with two thousand foot, and four hundred horse. He found the city in a great commotion, and divided into



two factions; one of the people, and the other of the rich and powerful. The latter having been tried in form, were condemned by the assembly to die, and to have their estates confiscated for the use of the public. This confiscation was applied to pay off the arrears which had long been due to the former garrison, commanded by Dexippus the Lacedaemonian; and Dionysius promised the troops he brought with him to Syracuse, to double the pay they were to receive from the city. This was attaching so many new creatures to himself. The inhabitants of Gela treated him with the highest marks of honour, and sent him deputies to Syracuse, to return their thanks for the important service that city had done them in sending Dionysius thither. Having endeavoured in vain to bring Dexippus into his measures, he returned with his troops to Syracuse; after having promised the inhabitants of Gela, who used all means in their power to keep him amongst them, that he would soon return with more considerable aid.

He arrived at Syracuse just as the people were coming out of the theatre, who ran in throngs about him, enquiring with earnestness what he had heard of the Carthaginians. He answered with a sad and dejected air, That the city nourished far more dangerous and formidable enemies in her bosom: That whilst Carthage was making extraordinary preparations for the invasion of Syracuse, those who were in command, instead of rousing the zeal and attention of the citizens, and setting every thing at work against the approach of so potent an enemy, lulled them with trivial amusements and idle shews, and suffered the troops to want necessaries; converting their pay to private uses in a fraudulent manner, destructive to the public affairs: That he had always sufficiently comprehended the cause of such a conduct: That however it was not now upon mere conjecture, but upon too evident proof, his complaints were founded: That Imilcar, the general of the Carthaginians, had sent an officer to him, under pretext of treating about the ransom of prisoners, but in reality to prevail on him not to be too strict in examining into the conduct of his colleagues; and that if he would not enter into the measures of Carthage, at least that he would not oppose them:

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That for his part he came to resign his command, and to abdicate his dignity, that he might leave no room for injurious suspicions of his acting in concert, and holding intelligence with traitors who sold the commonwealth.

This discourse being rumoured amongst the troops, and about the city, occasioned great inquietude and alarm. The next day the assembly was summoned, and Dionysius renewed his complaints against the generals, which were received with universal applause. Some of the assembly cried out, that it was necessary to appoint him a generalissimo, with unlimited power, and that it would be too late for so salutary a recourse, when the enemy was at the gates of Syracuse: That the importance of the war which threatened them, required such a leader. That it was in the same manner formerly, that Gelon was elected generalissimo, and defeated the Carthaginian army at Himera, which consisted of three hundred thousand men: That as for the accusation alleged against the traitors, it might be referred to another day, but that the present affair would admit no delay. Nor was it deferred in effect; for the people (who, when once prejudiced, run headlong after their opinion without examining any thing) elected Dionysius generalissimo, with unlimited power, that instant. In the same assembly he caused it to be decreed, that the soldiers pay should be doubled; insinuating that the state would be amply reimbursed by the conquests consequential of that advance. This being done, and the assembly dismissed, the Syracusans upon cool reflection on what had passed, began to be in some consternation, as if it had not been the effect of their own choice; and comprehended, though too late, that, from the desire of preserving their liberty, they had given themselves a master.

Dionysius rightly judged the importance of taking his measures before the people repented what they had done. There remained but one step more to the tyranny, which was to have a body of guards assigned him; and that he accomplished in the most artful and politic manner. He proposed, that all the citizens under forty years of age, and capable of bearing arms, should march with provisions for thirty days to the city of Leontium. The Syracusans

were at that time in possession of the place, and had a garrison in it. It was full of fugitive and foreign soldiers, who were very fit persons for the execution of his designs. He justly suspected, that the greatest part of the Syracusans would not follow him. He set out, however, and encamped in the night upon the plains near the city. It was not long before a great noise was heard throughout the whole camp. This tumult was raised by persons planted for that purpose by Dionysius. He affected that ambuscades had been laid with design to assassinate him, and in great trouble and alarm retired for refuge into the citadel of Leontium, where he passed the rest of the night, after having caused a great number of fires to be lighted, and had drawn off such of the troops as he most confided in. At break of day the people assembled in a body; to whom, expressing still great apprehension, he explained the danger he had been in, and demanded permission to chuse himself a guard of six hundred men for the security of his person. Pisistratus had set him the example long before, and had used the same stratagem when he made himself tyrant of Athens. His demand seemed very reasonable, and was accordingly complied with. He chose out a thousand men for his guard upon the spot, armed them completely, equipped them magnificently, and made them great promises for their encouragement. He also attached the foreign soldiers to his interest in a peculiar manner, by speaking to them with great freedom and affability. He made many removals and alterations in the troops, to secure the officers in his interest, and dismissed Dexippus to Sparta, in whom he could not confide. At the same time he ordered a great part of the garrison which he had sent to Gela, to join him, and assembled from all parts fugitives, exiles, debtors, and criminals; a train worthy of a tyrant.

With this escort he returned to Syracuse, that trembled at his approach. The people were no longer in a condition to oppose his undertakings, or to dispute his authority. The city was full of foreign soldiers, and saw itself upon the point of being attacked by the Carthaginians.

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ed the daughter of Hermocrates, the most powerful citizen of Syracuse, and who had contributed the most to the defeat of the Athenians. He also gave his sister in marriage to Polyxenus, brother-in-law of Hermocrates. He afterwards summoned an assembly, in which he rid himself of Daphneus and Demarchus, who had been the most active in opposing his usurpation. In this manner Dionysius, from a simple notary, and a citizen of the lowest class, made himself absolute lord and tyrant of the greatest and most opulent cities of Sicily.

SECT. II. *Commutations in Sicily and at Syracuse against Dionysius. He finds means to dispel them. To prevent revolts, he proposes to attack the Carthaginians. His wonderful application and success in making preparations for the war. Plato comes to Syracuse. His intimacy and friendship with Dion.*

(d) **D**IONYSIUS had a rude shock to experience in the beginning of his usurpation. The Carthaginians having besieged Gela, he marched to its relief, and, after some unsuccessful endeavours against the enemy, threw himself into the place. He behaved there with little vigour; and all the service he did the inhabitants, was, to make them abandon their city in the night, and to cover their flight in person. He was suspected of acting in concert with the enemy, and the more because they did not pursue him, and that he lost very few of his foreign soldiers. All the inhabitants who remained at Gela, were butchered. Those of Camarina, to avoid the same fate, followed their example, and withdrew with all the effects they could carry away. The moving sight of aged persons, matrons, young virgins, and tender infants, hurried on beyond their strength, struck Dionysius' troops with compassion, and incensed them against the tyrant. Those he had raised in Italy, withdrew to their own country; and the Syracusan cavalry, after having made a vain attempt to kill him upon the march, from his being surrounded with his foreigners, made forwards, and having entered Syracuse, went directly to

(d) Diod. l. xiii. p. 227. --- 231.



his palace, which they plundered, using his wife at the same time with so much violence and ill usage, that she died of it soon after. Dionysius, who had foreseen their design, followed them close with only an hundred horse and four hundred foot; and having marched almost twenty leagues (e) with the utmost expedition, he arrived at midnight at one of the gates, which he found shut against him. He set fire to it, and opened himself a passage in that manner. The richest of the citizens ran thither to dispute his entrance, but were surrounded by the soldiers, and almost all of them killed. Dionysius having entered the city, put all to the sword that came in his way, plundered the houses of his enemies, of whom he killed a great number, and forced the rest to leave Syracuse. The next day in the morning the whole body of his troops arrived. The unhappy fugitives of Gela and Camarina, out of horror for the tyrant, retired to the Leontines. Imilcar having sent an herald to Syracuse, a treaty was concluded, as mentioned in the history of the Carthaginians (f). By one of the articles it was stipulated, that Syracuse should continue under the government of Dionysius; which confirmed all the suspicions that had been conceived of him. This happened in the year Darius Nothus died (g).

It was then he sacrificed every thing that gave him umbrage, to his repose and security. He knew, that, after having deprived the Syracusans of all that was dear to them, he could not fail of incurring their extreme abhorrence; and the fear of the miseries he had to expect in consequence, increased in the usurper in proportion to their hatred of him. He looked upon all his new subjects as so many enemies; and believed, that he could only avoid the dangers which surrounded him on all sides, and dogged him in all places, by cutting off one part of the people to intimidate the other. He did not observe, that in adding the cruelty of executions to the oppression of the public, he only multiplied his enemies, and induced them, after the loss

(e) 400 stadia.

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(g) A. M. 3600. Ant. J. C. 404.

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of their liberty, to preserve at least their lives, by attempting upon his.

(h) Dionysius, who foresaw that the Syracusans would not fail to take the advantage of the repose in which the treaty lately concluded with the Carthaginians had left them, to attempt the re-establishment of their liberty, neglected nothing on his side in support of his power. He fortified the part of the city called *the Isle*, which was before very strong from the nature of its situation, and might be defended by a moderate garrison. He surrounded it with good walls, flanked at due distances with high towers, and separated in that manner from the rest of the city. To these works he added a strong citadel, to serve him for a retreat and refuge in case of accident, and caused a great number of shops and piazza's to be erected, capable of containing a considerable multitude of inhabitants.

As to the lands, he chose out the best of them, which he bestowed upon his creatures, and the officers of his making, and distributed the rest in equal proportions amongst the citizens and strangers, including the slaves who had been made free amongst the first. He divided the houses in the same manner, reserving those in the Isle for such of the citizens as he could most confide in, and for his strangers.

After having taken these precautions for his security, he began to think of subjecting several free states of Sicily, which had aided the Carthaginians. He began with the siege of Herbesse. The Syracusans in his army, seeing their swords in their hands, thought it their duty to use them for the re-establishment of their liberty. At a time when they met in throngs to concert their measures, one of the officers, who took upon him to reprove them on that account, was killed upon the spot, and his death served as a signal for their revolt. They sent immediately to Ætna for the horse, who had retired thither at the beginning of the revolution. Dionysius, alarmed at this motion, raised the siege, and marched directly to Syracuse, to keep it in obedience. The revolvers followed him close, and having seized upon the suburb Epipolis, barred all communication

with the country. They received aid from their allies both by sea and land; and setting a price upon the tyrant's head, promised the freedom of the city to such of the strangers as should abandon him. A great number came over to them; whom they treated with the utmost favour and humanity. They made their machines advance, and battered the walls of the Isle vigorously, without giving Dionysius the least respite.

The tyrant, finding himself reduced to extremities, abandoned by the greatest part of the strangers, and shut upon the side of the country, assembled his friends to consult with them rather by what kind of death he should put a glorious period to his career, than upon the means of saving himself. They endeavoured to inspire him with new courage, and were divided in their opinions; but at last the advice of Philistus prevailed, which was, that he should by no means renounce the tyranny. Dionysius, to gain time, sent deputies to the revoltors, and demanded permission to quit the place with his adherents; which was granted, and five ships to transport his people and effects. He had however sent dispatches secretly to the Campanians, who garrisoned the places in the possession of the Carthaginians, with offers of a considerable reward, if they would come to his relief.

The Syracusans, who, after the treaty, believed their business done, and the tyrant entirely defeated, had disarmed part of their troops, and the rest acted with great indolence and little discipline. The arrival of the Campanians to the number of twelve hundred horse, infinitely surprized and alarmed the city. After having beat such as disputed their passage, they opened themselves a way to Dionysius. At the same time, three hundred soldiers more arrived to his assistance: the face of things was then entirely altered, and terror and dejection changed parties. Dionysius, in a sally, drove them vigorously as far as that part of the city called *Neapolis*. The slaughter was not very considerable, because he had given orders to spare those that fled. He caused the dead to be interred, and gave those who had retired to *Ætna* to understand, that they might return with intire security. Many came to Sy-

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racuse, but others did not think it advisable to confide in the faith of a tyrant. The Campanians were rewarded to their satisfaction, and dismissed.

The Lacedaemonians at this time took such measures in regard to Syracuse, as were most unworthy of the Spartan name. They had lately subverted the liberty of Athens, and declared publicly in all the cities of their dependance against popular government. They deputed one of their citizens to Syracuse, to express in appearance the part they took in the misfortunes of that city, and to offer it their aid; but in reality he was sent to confirm Dionysius in supporting himself in the tyranny; expecting that from the increase of his power he would prove of great advantage and support to their own.

Dionysius saw, from what had so lately happened at Syracuse, what he was to expect from the people for the future. Whilst the inhabitants were employed abroad in harvest-work, he entered their houses, and seized upon all the arms he could find. He afterwards inclosed the citadel with an additional wall, fitted out abundance of ships, armed great numbers of strangers, and took all possible measures to secure himself against the disaffection of the Syracusans.

After having made this provision for his safety at home, he prepared to extend his conquests abroad; from whence he did not only purpose the increase of his dominions and revenues, but the additional advantage of diverting his subjects from the sense of their lost liberty, by turning their attention upon their antient, and always abhorred enemy, and by employing them in lofty projects, military expeditions, and glorious exploits, to which the hopes of riches and plunder would be annexed. He conceived this to be also the means to acquire the affection of his troops; and that the esteem of the people would be a consequence of the grandeur and success of his enterprizes.

Dionysius wanted neither courage nor policy, and had all the qualities of a great general. He took, either by force or fraud, Naxos, Catana, Leontium, and some (i) other

(i) Aetna, Enna.



towns in the neighbourhood of Syracuse, which for that reason were very agreeable to his purposes. Some of them he treated with favour and clemency, to engage the esteem and confidence of the people: others he plundered, to strike terror into the country. The inhabitants of Leontium were transplanted to Syracuse.

These conquests alarmed the neighbouring cities, which saw themselves threatened with the same misfortune. Rhegium, situate upon the opposite coast of the streight which divides Sicily from Italy, prepared to prevent it, and entered into an alliance with the Syracusan exiles, who were very numerous, and with the Messenians on the Sicilian side of the streight, who were to aid them with a powerful supply. They had levied a considerable army, and were upon the point of marching against the tyrant, when discord arose amongst the troops, and rendered the enterprize abortive. It terminated in a treaty of peace and alliance between Dionysius and the two cities.

He had long revolved a great design in his mind, which was to ruin the Carthaginian power in Sicily, a great obstacle to his own, as his discontented subjects never failed of refuge in the towns dependent upon that nation. The accident of the plague, which had lately ravaged Carthage, and extremely diminished its strength, seemed to supply a favourable opportunity for the execution of his design. But, as a man of ability, he knew that the greatness of the preparations ought to answer that of an enterprize, to assure the success of it; and he applied to them in a manner, which shews the extent of his views, and extraordinary capacity. He therefore used uncommon pains and application for that purpose; conscious that the war, into which he was entering with one of the most powerful nations then in the world, might be of long duration, and have variety of considerable events.

His first care was, to bring to Syracuse, as well from the conquered cities in Sicily, as from Greece and Italy, a great number of artificers and workmen of all kinds; whom he induced to come thither by the offer of great gain and reward, the certain means of engaging the most

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excellent persons in every profession. He caused an infinite number of every kind of arms to be forged, swords, javelins, lances, partisans, helmets, cuirasses, bucklers; all after the manner of the nation by whom they were to be worn. He built also a great number of galleys, that had from three to five benches of rowers, and were of an entirely new invention; with abundance of other barks and vessels for the transportation of troops and provisions.

The whole city seemed but one workshop, and continually resounded with the noise of the several artisans. Not only the porches, piazzas, porticos, places of exercise, and public places, but private houses of any extent, were full of workmen. Dionysius had distributed them with admirable order. Each species of artists, divided by streets and districts, had their overseers and inspectors, who, by their presence and direction, promoted and compleated the works. Dionysius himself was perpetually amongst the workmen, encouraging them with praise, and rewarding their merit. He knew how to confer different marks of honour upon them, according to their distinguishing themselves by their ingenuity or application. He would even make some of them dine with him at his own table, where he entertained them with the freedom and kindness of a friend. \* It is justly said, that honour nourishes arts and sciences, and that men of all ranks and conditions are animated by the love of glory. The prince, who knows how to put the two great springs and strongest incentives of the human soul, interest and glory, in motion, under proper regulations, will soon make all arts and sciences flourish in his kingdom, and fill it at a small expence with persons who excell in every profession. And this happened now at Syracuse, where a single person of great ability in the art of governing, excited such ardor and emulation among the artificers, as it is not easy to imagine or describe.

Dionysius applied himself more particularly to the navy. He knew that Corinth had invented the art of building galleys with three and five benches of oars, and was ambitious

\* *Honos alit artes, omnesque incenduntur ad studia gloriae. Cic. Tusc. Quæst. l. i. n. 4.*

of acquiring for Syracuse, a Corinthian colony, the glory of bringing that art to perfection ; which he effected. The timber for building his galleys was brought, part of it from Italy, where it was drawn on carriages to the sea-side, and from thence shipped to Syracuse ; and part from mount Ætna, which at that time produced abundance of pine and fir trees. In a short space a fleet of two hundred galleys was seen in a manner to rise out of the earth ; and an hundred others formerly built were refitted by his order. He caused also an hundred and sixty sheds to be erected within the great port, each of them capable of containing two galleys, and an hundred and fifty more to be repaired.

The sight of such a fleet, built in so short a time, and fitted out with so much magnificence, would have given reason to believe, that all Sicily had united its labours and revenues in accomplishing so great a work. On the other side, the view of such an incredible quantity of arms newly made, would have inclined one to think, that Dionysius had solely employed himself in providing them, and had exhausted his treasures in the expence. They consisted of one hundred and forty thousand shields, as many helmets and swords ; and upwards of fourteen thousand cuirasses, finished with all the art and elegance imaginable. They were intended for the horse, for the tribunes and centurions of the foot, and for the foreign troops, who had the guard of his person. Darts, arrows, and lances, were innumerable, and engines and machines of war in proportion to the rest of the preparations.

The fleet was to be manned by an equal number of citizens and strangers. Dionysius did not think of raising troops till all his preparations were complete. Syracuse and the cities in its dependence supplied him with part of his forces. Many came from Greece, especially from Sparta. The considerable pay he offered, brought soldiers in crowds from all parts to list in his service.

He omitted none of the precautions necessary to the success of his enterprize : the importance as well as difficulty of which was well known to him. He was not ignorant that every thing depends upon the zeal and affection of the

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troops for their general, and applied himself particularly to the gaining of the hearts, not of his own subjects only, but of all the inhabitants of Sicily, and succeeded in it to a wonder. He had entirely changed his behaviour for some time. Kindness, courtesy, clemency, a disposition to do good, and an insinuating complacency for all the world, had taken place of that haughty and imperious air, and inhumanity of temper, which had rendered him so odious. He was so intirely altered, that he did not seem to be the same man.

Whilst he was hastning his preparations for the war, and applying to the attainment of his subjects affections, he meditated an alliance with the two powerful cities, Rhegium and Messina, which were capable of disconcerting his great designs by a formidable diversion. The league formed by those cities some time before, though without any effect, gave him some uneasiness. He therefore thought it necessary to make sure of the amity of them both. He presented the inhabitants of Messina with a considerable quantity of land, which was situate in the neighbourhood, and lay very commodiously for them. To give the people of Rhegium an instance of his esteem and regard for them, he sent ambassadors to desire that they would give him one of their citizens in marriage. He had lost his first wife in the popular commotion; as before related.

Dionysius, sensible that nothing establishes a throne more effectually than the prospect of a successor, who may enter into the same designs, have the same interests, pursue the same plan, and observe the same maxims of government, took the opportunity of the present tranquillity of his affairs to contract a double marriage, in order to have a successor, to whom he might transfer the sovereignty, which had cost him so many pains and dangers to acquire.

The people of Rhegium, to whom Dionysius had first applied, having called a council to take his demand into consideration, came to a resolution not to contract any alliance with a tyrant; and for their final answer returned, That they had only the hangman's daughter to give him.



The railery was home and cut deep. We shall see in the sequel how dear that city paid for their jest.

The Locrians, to whom Dionysius sent the same ambassadors, did not shew themselves so difficult and delicate, but sent him Doris for a wife, who was the daughter of one of their most illustrious citizens. He caused her to be brought from Locris in a galley with five benches of rowers, of extraordinary magnificence, and shining on all sides with gold and silver. He married at the same time Aristomache daughter of Hipparinus, the most considerable and powerful of the Syracusan citizens, and sister of Dion, of whom much will be said hereafter. She was brought to his palace in a chariot drawn by four white horses, which was then a singular mark of distinction. The nuptials of both were celebrated the same day with universal rejoicings throughout the whole city, and was attended with feasts and presents of incredible magnificence.

It was contrary to the manners and universal custom of the western nations, from all antiquity, that he espoused two wives at once; taking in this, as in every thing else, the liberty assumed by tyrants, of setting themselves above all laws.

Dionysius seemed to have an equal affection for the two wives, without giving the preference to either, to remove all cause of jealousy and discord. The people of Syracuse reported, that he preferred his own countrywoman to the stranger; but the latter had the good fortune to bring her husband the first son, which supported him not a little against the cabals and intrigues of the Syracusans. Aristomache was a long time without any symptoms of child-bearing; though Dionysius desired so earnestly to have issue by her, that he put his Locrian's mother to death; accusing her of hindering Aristomache from conceiving by witchcraft.

Aristomache's brother was the celebrated Dion, in great estimation with Dionysius. He was at first obliged for his credit to his sister's favour; but, after distinguishing his great capacity in many instances, his own merit made him much beloved and regarded by the tyrant. Amongst the other marks Dionysius gave him of his confidence, he or-

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dered his treasures to supply him, without farther orders, with whatever money he should demand, provided they informed him the same day they paid it.

Dion had naturally a great and most noble soul. An happy accident had conduced to inspire and confirm in him the most elevated sentiments. It was a kind of chance, or rather, as Plutarch says, a peculiar providence, which, at a distance, laid the foundations of the Syracusan liberty, that brought Plato, the most celebrated of philosophers, to Syracuse. Dion became his friend and disciple, and made great improvements from his lessons: for though brought up in a luxurious and voluptuous court, where the supreme good was made to consist in pleasure and magnificence, he had no sooner heard the precepts of his new master, and imbibed a taste of the philosophy that inculcates virtue, than his soul was inflamed with the love of it. Plato, in one of his letters, gives this glorious testimony of him, that he had never met with a young man upon whom his discourses made so great impression, or who had conceived his principles with so much ardour and vivacity.

As Dion was young and unexperienced, observing the facility with which Plato had changed his taste and inclinations, he imagined, with simplicity enough, that the same reasons would have the same effects upon the mind of Dionysius; and, from that opinion, could not rest till he had prevailed upon the tyrant to hear and converse with him. Dionysius consented: but the lust of tyrannic power had taken too deep a root in his heart to be ever eradicated from it. It was \* like an indelible dye, that had penetrated his inmost soul, from whence it was impossible ever to efface it.

(k) Though the stay of Plato at the court made no alteration in Dionysius, he persevered in giving Dion the same instances of his esteem and confidence, and even to support, without taking offence, the freedom with which he spoke to him. Dionysius, ridiculing one day the government of Gelon, formerly king of Syracuse, and saying, in allusion to

(k) Plut. p. 960.

\* Την βαρυνει ανιεντα της τυραννιδος, εν πολλω χρονω δυσωποιον ηταν & δυσικπυτον. Δρομαιους δε οντας επι της των χρηστων αντιλαμ-  
βανεισθαι λογον. Plut. in moral. p. 779.

his name, that he had been the *laughing-stock* (l) of Sicily, the whole court fell into great admiration, and took no small pains in praising the quaintness and delicacy of the conceit, insipid and flat as it was, and indeed as puns and quibbles generally are. Dion took it in a serious sence, and was so bold to represent to him, that he was in the wrong to talk in that manner of a prince, whose wife and equitable conduct had been an excellent model of government, and given the Syracusans a favourable opinion of monarchical power. *You reign, added he, and have been trusted for Gelon's sake; but for your sake, no man will ever be trusted after you.* It was very much that a tyrant should suffer himself to be talked to in such a manner with impunity.

SECT. III. *Dionysius declares war against the Carthaginians. Various successs of it. Syracuse reduced to extremities, and soon after delivered. New commotions against Dionysius. Defeat of Imilcar, and afterwards of Mago. Unhappy fate of the city of Rhegium.*

DIONYSIUS seeing his great preparations were complete, and that he was in a condition to take the field, publicly opened his designs to the Syracusans, in order to interest them the more in the successs of the enterprise, and told them that it was against the Carthaginians. He represented that people as the perpetual and inveterate enemy of the Greeks, and especially of those who inhabited Sicily; that the plague which had lately wasted Carthage, had made the opportunity favourable, which ought not to be neglected; that the people in subjection to so cruel a power, waited only the signal to declare against it; that it would be much for the glory of Syracuse to reinstate the Grecian cities in their liberty, after having so long groaned under the yoke of the barbarians; that in declaring war at present against the Carthaginians, they only preceded them in doing so for some time; since, as soon as they had retrieved their losses, they would not fail to attack Syracuse with all their forces.

(l) *Γέλοσ* signifies a laughing-stock,

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The assembly were unanimously of the same opinion. Their antient and natural hatred of the barbarians; their anger against them for having given Syracuse a master; and the hope that, with arms in their hands, they might find some occasion of recovering their liberty, united them in their suffrages. The war was resolved without any opposition, and began that very instant. There were, as well in the city as the port, a great number of Carthaginians, who, upon the faith of treaties, and under the peace, exercised traffic, and thought themselves in security. The populace, by Dionysius's authority, upon the breaking up of the assembly, ran to their houses and ships, plundered their goods, and carried off their effects. They met with the same treatment throughout Sicily; to which murders and massacres were added, by way of reprisal for the many cruelties committed by the barbarians upon those they conquered, and to shew them what they had to expect, if they continued to make war with the same inhumanity.

After this bloody execution, Dionysius sent a letter by an herald to Carthage, in which he signified, that the Syracusans declared war against the Carthaginians, if they did not withdraw their garrisons from all the Grecian cities held by them in Sicily. The reading of this letter at first in the senate, and afterwards in the assembly of the people, occasioned an uncommon alarm, as the pestilence had reduced the city to a deplorable condition. However, they were not dismayed, and prepared for a vigorous defence. They raised troops with the utmost diligence; and Imilcar set out immediately, to put himself at the head of the Carthaginian army in Sicily.

Dionysius, on his side, lost no time, and took the field with his army, which daily increased by the arrival of new troops, who came to join him from all parts. It amounted to fourscore thousand foot, and three thousand horse. The fleet consisted of two hundred galleys, and five hundred barks laden with provisions and machines for war. He opened the campaign with the siege of Motya, a fortified town under the Carthaginians near mount Eryx, in a little island something more than a quarter of a league (m)

(m) Six stadia, or four furlongs.



from the continent, to which it was joined by a small neck of land, which the besieged immediately cut off, to prevent the approaches of the enemy on that side.

Dionysius having left the care of the siege to Leptinus, who commanded the fleet, went with his land forces to attack the places in alliance with the Carthaginians. Terrified by the approach of so numerous an army, they all surrendered except five, which were Ancyra, Solos, (n) Palermo, Segesta, and Entella. The last two places he besieged.

Imilcar, however, to make a diversion, detached ten galleys of his fleet, with orders to attack and surprise in the night all the vessels which remained in the port of Syracuse. The commander of this expedition entered the port, according to his orders, without resistance; and, after having sunk a great part of the vessels which he found there, retired, well satisfied with the success of his enterprise.

Dionysius, after having wasted the enemy's country, returned, and sat down with his whole army before Motya; and having employed a great number of hands in making dams and moles, he reinstated the neck of land, and brought his engines to work on that side. The place was attacked and defended with the utmost vigour. After the besiegers had passed the breach, and entered the city, the besieged persisted a great while in defending themselves with incredible valour; so that it was necessary to pursue and drive them from house to house. The soldiers, enraged at so obstinate a defence, put all before them to the sword; age, youth, women, children, nothing was spared, except those who had taken refuge in the temples. The town was abandoned to the soldiers' discretion; Dionysius being pleased with an occasion of attaching the troops to his service, by the allurements and hope of gain.

The Carthaginians made an extraordinary effort the next year, and raised an army of three hundred thousand foot, and four thousand horse. The fleet under Mago's command consisted of four hundred galleys, and upwards of six hundred vessels laden with provisions and engines of

(n) Panormus.

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war. Imilcar had given the captains of the fleet his orders sealed up, which were not to be opened till they were out at sea. He had taken this precaution, that his designs might be kept secret, and to prevent spies from sending advices of them to Sicily. The rendezvous was at Palermo; where the fleet arrived, without much loss in their passage. Imilcar took Eryx by treachery, and soon after reduced Motya to surrender. Messina seemed to him a place of importance; because it might favour the landing of troops from Italy in Sicily, and bar the passage of those that should come from Peloponnesus. After a long and vigorous defence, it fell into his hands; and some time after, he entirely demolished it.

Dionysius, seeing his forces extremely inferior to the enemy, retired to Syracuse. Almost all the people of Sicily, who hated him from the beginning, and were only reconciled to him in appearance, and out of fear, took this occasion to quit his party, and to join the Carthaginians. The tyrant levied new troops, and gave the slaves their liberty, that they might serve on board the fleet. His army amounted to thirty thousand foot, and three thousand horse, and his fleet to an hundred and eighty galleys. With these forces he took the field, and removed about eighteen leagues from Syracuse. Imilcar advanced perpetually with his land army, followed by his fleet, that kept near the coast. When he arrived at Naxos, he could not continue his march upon the sea-side, and was obliged to take a long compass round mount Ætna, which, by a new irruption, had set the country about it on fire, and covered it with ashes. He ordered his fleet to wait his coming up at Catana. Dionysius apprised of this, thought the opportunity favourable for attacking it, whilst separate from the land-forces, and whilst his own, drawn up in battle upon the shore, might be of service to animate and support his fleet. The scheme was wisely concerted, but the success not answerable to it. Leptinus, his admiral, having advanced inconsiderately with thirty galleys, contrary to the opinion of Dionysius, who had particularly recommended to him not to divide his forces, at first sunk several of the

enemy's ships; but upon being surrounded by the greater number, was forced to fly. His whole fleet followed his example, and was warmly pursued by the Carthaginians. Mago detached boats full of soldiers, with orders to kill all that endeavoured to save themselves by swimming to shore. The land-army drawn up there, saw them perish miserably, without being able to give them any assistance. The loss on the side of the Sicilians was very great; more than an hundred galleys being either taken or sunk, and twenty thousand men perishing either in the battle, or the pursuit.

The Sicilians, who were afraid to shut themselves up in Syracuse, where they could not fail of being besieged very soon, solicited Dionysius to lead them against Imilcar, whom so bold an enterprize might disconcert; besides which, they should find his troops fatigued with their long and hasty march. The proposal pleased him at first; but upon reflecting, that Mago, with the victorious fleet, might notwithstanding advance and take Syracuse, he thought it more adviseable to return thither; which was the occasion of his losing abundance of his troops, who deserted in numbers on all sides. Imilcar, after a march of two days, arrived at Catana, where he halted some days to refresh his army, and to refit his fleet, which had suffered exceedingly by a violent storm.

(o) He then marched to Syracuse, and made his fleet enter the port in triumph. More than two hundred galleys, adorned with the spoils of their victory, made a noble appearance as they advanced; the crews forming a kind of concert by the uniform and regular order they observed in the motion of their oars. They were followed by an infinite number of smaller barks; so that the port, vast as it was, was scarce capable of containing them; the whole sea being in a manner covered with sails. At the same time, on the other side, appeared the land-army, composed, as has been said, of three hundred thousand foot, and four thousand horse. Imilcar pitched his tent in the temple of Jupiter, and the army incamped around, at somewhat more than half a league's (p) distance from

(o) Diod. l. xiii. p. 285,---296.

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the city. It is easy to judge the consternation and alarm which such a prospect must give the Syracusans. The Carthaginian general advanced with his troops to the walls, to offer the city battle, and at the same time seized upon the two remaining \* ports by a detachment of an hundred galleys. As he saw no motion on the side of the Syracusans, he retired, contented for that time with the enemy's confessing their inequality. For thirty days together he laid waste the country, cutting down all the trees, and destroying all before him. He then made himself master of the suburb called *Achradina*, and plundered the temples of Ceres and Proserpina. Foreseeing that the siege would be of long duration, he intrenched his camp, and inclosed it with strong walls, after having demolished for that purpose all the tombs, and amongst others, that of Gelon and his wife Demarate, which was a monument of great magnificence. He built three forts at some distance from each other; the first at Pemmyra; the second towards the middle of the port; the third near the temple of Jupiter, for the security of his magazines of corn and wine. He sent also a great number of small vessels to Sardinia and Africa to fetch provisions.

At the same time arrived Polyxenus, whom his brother-in-law Dionysius had dispatched before into Italy and Greece for all the aid he could obtain, and brought with him a fleet of thirty ships, commanded by Pharacides the Lacedaemonian. This reinforcement came in very good time, and gave the Syracusans new spirit. Upon seeing a bark laden with provisions for the enemy, they detached five galleys, and took it. The Carthaginians gave them chase with forty sail; to which they advanced with their whole fleet, and in the battle carried the admiral-galley, damaged many others, took twenty-four, pursued the rest to the place where their whole fleet rode, and offered them battle a second time; which the Carthaginians, discouraged by the check they had received, were afraid to accept.

The Syracusans, emboldened by so unexpected a victory, returned to the city with the galleys they had taken, and

\* The little port, and that of Trogilus.



entered it in a kind of triumph. Animated by this success, which could be only ascribed to their valour, (for Dionysius was then absent with a small detachment of the fleet to procure provisions, attended by Leptinus;) they encouraged each other, and seeing they did not want arms, they reproached themselves with cowardice, ardently exclaiming, that the time was come for throwing off the shameful yoke of servitude, and resuming their antient liberty.

Whilst they were in the midst of these discourses, dispersed in small parties, the tyrant arrived, and having summoned an assembly, he congratulated the Syracusans upon their late victory, and promised in a short time to put an end to the war, and deliver them from the enemy. He was going to dismiss the assembly, when Theodorus, one of the most illustrious of the citizens, a person of sense and valour, took upon him to speak, and to declare boldly for liberty. "We are told," said he, "of restoring peace, terminating the war, and of being delivered from the enemy. What signifies such language from Dionysius? can we have peace in the wretched state of slavery imposed upon us? have we an enemy more to be dreaded than the tyrant who subverts our liberty, or a war more cruel than that he has made upon us for so many years? Let Imilcar conquer, so he contents himself with laying a tribute upon us, and leaves us the exercise of our laws. The tyrant that enslaves us, knows no other but his avarice, his cruelty, his ambition! The temples of the gods robbed by his sacrilegious hand, our goods made a prey, and our lands abandoned to his instruments; our persons daily exposed to the most shameful and cruel treatment, the blood of so many citizens shed in the midst of us, and before our eyes; these are the fruits of his reign, and the peace he obtains for us! Was it for the support of our liberties he built yon citadel, that he has inclosed it with such strong walls and high towers, and has called in for his guard that tribe of strangers and barbarians, who insult us with impunity? How long, Oh Syracusans, shall we suffer such indignities, more insupportable to the brave and generous than death itself? Bold and intrepid abroad against the enemy, shall

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we always tremble like cowards in the presence of a tyrant? Providence, which has again put arms into our hands, directs us in the use of them! Sparta, and the other cities in our alliance, who hold it their glory to be free and independent, would deem us unworthy of the Grecian name, if we had any other sentiments. Let us shew that we do not degenerate from our ancestors. If Dionysius consents to retire from amongst us, let us open him our gates, and let him take along with him whatever he pleases: but if he persists in the tyranny, let him experience what effects the love of liberty has upon the brave and determinate!"

After this speech, all the Syracusans, in suspense betwixt hope and fear, looked earnestly upon their allies, and particularly upon the Spartans. Pharacides, who commanded their fleet, rose up to speak. It was expected that a citizen of Sparta would declare in favour of liberty: but he did quite the reverse, and told them, that his republic had sent him to the aid of the Syracusans and Dionysius, and not to make war upon Dionysius, or to subvert his authority. This answer confounded the Syracusans; and the tyrant's guard arriving at the same time, the assembly broke up. Dionysius perceiving more than ever what he had to fear, used all his endeavours to ingratiate himself with the people, and to attach the citizens to his interests; making presents to some, inviting others to eat with him, and affecting upon all occasions to treat them with kindness and familiarity.

(q) It must have been about this time, that Polyxenus, Dionysius's brother-in law, who had married his sister Thes- ta, having, without doubt, declared against him in this conspiracy, fled from Sicily for the preservation of his life, and to avoid falling into the tyrant's hands. Dionysius sent for his sister, and reproached her very much for not apprising him of her husband's intended flight, as she could not be ignorant of it. She replied, without expressing the least surprise or fear, *Have I then appeared so bad a wife to you, and of so mean a soul, as to have abandoned my*

(q) Plut. in Dion. p. 966.

*husband in his flight, and not to have desired to share in his dangers and misfortunes? No! I knew nothing of it; or I should have been much happier in being called the wife of Polyxenus the exile, in all places, than, in Syracuse, the sister of the tyrant.* Dionysius could not but admire an answer so full of spirit and generosity; and the Syracusans in general were so charmed with her virtue, that, after the tyranny was suppressed, the same honours, equipage, and train of a queen, which she had before, were continued to her during her life; and after her death, the whole people attended her body to her tomb, and honoured her funeral with an extraordinary appearance.

On the side of the Carthaginians, affairs began to take a new face on a sudden. They had committed an irretrievable error in not attacking Syracuse upon their arrival, and in not taking the advantage of the consternation, which the sight of a fleet and army equally formidable had occasioned. The plague, which was looked upon as a punishment sent from heaven for the plundering of temples, and demolishing of tombs, had destroyed great numbers of their army in a short time. I have described the extraordinary symptoms of it in the history of the Carthaginians (r). To add to that misfortune, the Syracusans, being informed of their unhappy condition, attacked them in the night by sea and land. The surprise, terror, and even haste they were in, to put themselves into a posture of defence, threw them into new difficulty and confusion. They knew not on which side to send relief; all being equally in danger. Many of their vessels were sunk, and others almost entirely disabled, and a much greater number destroyed by fire. The old men, women, and children, ran in crowds to the walls to be witnesses of that scene of horror, and lifted up their hands towards heaven, returning thanks to the gods for so signal a protection of their city. The slaughter within and without the camp, and on board the vessels, was great and dreadful, and ended only with the day.

Imilcar, reduced to despair, offered Dionysius secretly three hundred thousand crowns (s) for permission to retire

(r) Tom. i. p. 165. (s) 300 talents.

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in the night with the remains of his army and fleet. The tyrant, who was not displeased with leaving the Carthaginians some resource, to keep his subjects in continual awe, gave his consent; but only for the citizens of Carthage. Upon which Imilcar set out with the Carthaginians, and only with forty ships; leaving the rest of his troops behind. The Corinthians discovering from the noise and motion of the galleys, that Imilcar was making off, sent to inform Dionysius of his flight, who affected ignorance of it, and gave immediate orders to pursue him: but as those orders were but slowly executed, they followed the enemy themselves, and sunk several vessels of their rear-guard.

Dionysius then marched out with his troops; but, before their arrival the Sicilians in the Carthaginian service had retired to their several countries. Having first posted troops in the passes, he advanced directly to the enemy's camp, though it was not quite day. The barbarians, who saw themselves cruelly abandoned and betrayed by Imilcar and the Sicilians, lost courage and fled. Some of them were taken by the troops in the passes; others laid down their arms, and asked quarter. Only the Iberians drew up, and sent an herald to capitulate with Dionysius, who incorporated them into his guards. The rest were all made prisoners.

Such was the fate of the Carthaginians; which shews, says the historian (t), that humiliation treads upon the heels of pride, and that those who are too much puffed up with power and success, are soon forced to confess their weakness and vanity. Those haughty victors, masters of almost all Sicily, who looked upon Syracuse as already their own, and entered at first triumphant into the great port, insulting the citizens, are now reduced to lie shamefully under the covert of the night; dragging away with them the sad ruins and miserable remains of their fleet and army, and trembling for the fate of their native country. Imilcar, who had neither regarded the sacred refuge of temples, nor the inviolable sanctity of tombs, after having left one hundred and fifty

(t) Diodorus Siculus.



thousand men unburied in the enemy's country, returns to perish miserably at Carthage, avenging upon himself by his death the contempt he had expressed for gods and men;

Dionysius, who was suspicious of the strangers in his service, removed ten thousand of them, and, under the pretence of rewarding their merit, gave them the city of Leontium, which was in reality very commodiously situated, and an advantageous settlement. He confided the guard of his person to other foreigners, and the slaves he had made free. He made several attempts upon places in Sicily, and in the neighbouring country, especially against Rhegium (u). The people of Italy, seeing themselves in danger, entered into a powerful alliance to put a stop to his conquests. The success was tolerably equal on both sides.

(x) About this time, the Gauls, who some months before had burnt Rome, sent deputies to Dionysius to make an alliance with him, who was at that time in Italy. The advices he had received of the great preparations making by the Carthaginians for war, obliged him to return to Sicily.

The Carthaginians, having set on foot a numerous army under the conduct of Magô, made new efforts against Syracuse, but with no better success than the former. They terminated in an accommodation with Dionysius.

(y) He attacked Rhegium again, and at first received no inconsiderable check. But having gained a great victory against the Greeks of Italy, in which he took more than ten thousand prisoners, he dismissed them all without ransom, contrary to their expectation; with a view of dividing the Italians from the interests of Rhegium, and of dissolving a powerful league, which might have defeated his designs. Having by this action of favour and generosity acquired the good opinion of all the inhabitants of the country, and from enemies made them his friends and allies, he returned against Rhegium. He was extremely incensed against that city upon account of their refusing to give him one of their citizens in marriage, and the insolent answer with which that refusal was attended. The besieged, find-

(u) Diod. l. xiv. p. 304--310.

(x) Justin. l. xx. c. 5.

(y) A. M. 3615. Ant. J. C. 389.

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ing themselves incapable of resisting so numerous an army as that of Dionysius, and expecting no quarter if the city were taken by assault, began to talk of capitulating; to which he hearkened not unwillingly. He made them pay three hundred thousand crowns, deliver up all their vessels to the number of seventy, and put an hundred hostages into his hands: after which he raised the siege. It was not out of favour or clemency that he acted in this manner, but to make their destruction sure, after having first reduced their power.

Accordingly the next year, under the false pretext, and with the reproach of their having violated the treaty, he besieged them again with all his forces, first sending back their hostages. Both parties acted with the utmost vigour. The desire of revenge on one side, and the fear of the greatest cruelties on the other, animated the troops. Those of the city were commanded by Phyto, a brave and intrepid man, whom the danger of his country rendered more courageous. He made frequent and rude sallies. In one of them Dionysius received a wound, of which he recovered with great difficulty. The siege went on slowly, and had already continued eleven months, when a cruel famine reduced the city to the last extremities. A measure of wheat (of about six bushels) was sold for two hundred and fifty livres (z). After having consumed all their horses and beasts of carriage, they were obliged to support themselves with leather and hides, which they boiled; and at last to feed upon the grass of the fields like beasts; a resource of which Dionysius soon deprived them, by making his horse eat up all the herbage around the city. Necessity at length reduced them to surrender at discretion, and Dionysius entered the place, which he found covered with dead bodies. Those who survived were rather skeletons than men. He took above six thousand prisoners, whom he sent to Syracuse. Such as could pay fifty livres (a) he dismissed, and sold the rest for slaves.

Dionysius let fall the whole weight of his resentment and revenge upon Phyto. He began with ordering his son

(z) Five minae.

(a) One mina.

to be thrown into the sea. The next day he ordered the father to be fastened to the extremity of the highest of his engines for a spectacle to the whole army, and in that condition he sent to tell him that his son had been thrown into the sea. *Then he is happier than me by a day*, replied that unfortunate parent. He afterwards caused him to be led through the whole city, to be scourged with rods, and to suffer a thousand other indignities; whilst an herald proclaimed, *that the perfidious traitor was treated in that manner, for having inspired the people of Rhegium with rebellion. Say rather*, answered that generous defender of his country's liberty, *that a faithful citizen is so used, for having refused to sacrifice his country to a tyrant.* Such an object and such discourse drew tears from all eyes, and even from the soldiers of Dionysius. He was afraid his prisoner would be taken from him before he had satiated his revenge, and ordered him to be flung into the sea directly.

SECT. IV. *Violent passion of Dionysius for poetry. Reflections upon that taste of the tyrant. Generous freedom of Philoxenus. Death of Dionysius. His bad qualities.*

(b) **A**T an interval which the success against Rhegium had left Dionysius, the tyrant, who was fond of all kinds of glory, and piqued himself upon the excellence of his genius, sent his brother Thearides to Olympia, to dispute in his name the prizes of the chariot-race and poetry.

The circumstance, which I am going to treat, and which regards the taste, or rather passion of Dionysius for poetry and polite learning, being one of his peculiar characteristics, and having besides a mixture of good and bad in itself, makes it requisite, for a right understanding of it, to distinguish, wherein this taste of his is either laudable or worthy of blame.

I shall say as much upon the tyrant's total character,

(b) *Diod. l. xiv. p. 318.*

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with whose vices of ambition and tyranny many great qualities were united, which ought not to be disguised or misrepresented; the veracity of history requiring, that justice should be done to the most wicked, as they are not so in every respect. We have seen several things in his character that certainly deserve praise; I mean in regard to his manners and behaviour: the mildness with which he suffered the freedom of young Dion, the admiration he expressed of the bold and generous answer of his sister Thesta upon account of her husband's flight, his gracious and insinuating deportment upon several other occasions to the Syracusans, the familiarity of his discourse with the meanest citizens and even workmen, the equality he observed between his two wives, and his kindness and respect for them; all which imply, that Dionysius had more of equity, moderation, affability, and generosity, than is commonly ascribed to him. He is not such a tyrant as Phalaris, Alexander of Pherae, Caligula, Nero, or Caracalla.

But to return to Dionysius's taste for poetry: In his intervals of leisure, he loved to unbend in the conversation of persons of wit, and in the study of arts and sciences. He was particularly fond of versifying, and employed himself in the composition of poems, especially of tragedies. Thus far this passion of his may be excused, having something undoubtedly laudable in it; I mean in the taste for polite learning, the esteem he expressed for learned men, his inclination to do them good offices, and the application of his leisure hours. Was it not better to employ them in the exercise of his wit and the cultivation of science, than feasting, dancing, theatrical amusements, gaming, frivolous company, and other pleasures still more pernicious? Which wise reflection Dionysius the younger made when at Corinth. (c) Philip of Macedon, being at table with him, spoke of the odes and tragedies his father had left behind him with an air of raillery and contempt, and seemed to be under some difficulty to comprehend at what time of his life he had leisure for such compositions: Dionysius smartly reparted; *The difficulty is very great indeed! Why, he composed them at those hours which you*

(c) Plut. in Timol. p. 243.



and I, and an infinity of others, as we have reason to believe, pass in drinking and other diversions.

(d) Julius Caesar and the Emperor Augustus applied themselves to poetry, and composed tragedies. Lucullus intended to have wrote the memoirs of his military actions in verse. The comedies of Terence were attributed to Lelius and Scipio, both great captains, especially the latter; and that report was so far from lessening their reputation at Rome, that it added to the general esteem for them.

These unbendings therefore were not blameable in their own nature; this taste for poetry was rather laudable, if kept within due bounds: but Dionysius was ridiculous for pretending to excel all others in it. He could not endure either a superior or competitor in any thing. From being in the sole possession of supreme authority, he had accustomed himself to imagine his wit of the same rank with his power: in a word, he was in every thing a tyrant. His immoderate estimation of his own merit, flowed in some measure from the overbearing turn of mind, which empire and command had given him. The continual applauses of a court, and the flatteries of those who knew how to recommend themselves by his darling foible, were another source of this vain conceit: And of what will not a \* great man, a minister, a prince, think himself capable, who has such incense and adoration continually paid to him? It is well known, that Cardinal Richlieu, in the midst of the greatest affairs, not only composed dramatic poems, but piqued himself on his excellency that way; and, what is more, his jealousy in that point rose so high, as to use authority by way of criticism upon the compositions of those, to whom the public, a just and incorruptible judge in the question, had given the preference against him.

Dionysius did not reflect, that there are things, which, though estimable in themselves, and which do honour to private persons, it does not become a prince to desire to

(d) Suet. in Caes. c. 56. in August. c. 85.; Plut. in Lucul. p. 492.

\* ----- Nihil est quod credere de se

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excel in. I have mentioned elsewhere Philip of Macedon's expression to his son upon his having shewn too much skill in music at a public entertainment; *Are not you ashamed, said he, to sing so well?* It was acting inconsistently with the dignity of his character. If Caesar and Augustus, when they wrote tragedies, had taken it into their heads to equal or excel Sophocles, it had not only been *ridiculous*, but a *reproach* to them. And the reason is, because a prince being obliged by an essential and indispensable duty to apply himself incessantly to the affairs of government, and having an infinitude of various business always recurring to him, he can make no other use of the sciences, than to divert him at such short intervals, as will not admit any great progress in them, and the excelling of those who employ themselves in no other study. Hence, when the public sees a prince affect the first rank in this kind of merit, it may justly conclude, that he neglects his more important duties, and what he owes to his people's happiness, to give himself up to an employment, which wastes his time and application of mind ineffectually.

We must however do Dionysius the justice to own, that he never was reproachable for letting poetry interfere to the prejudice of his great affairs, or that it made him less active and diligent on any important occasion.

(e) I have already said, that this prince, in an interval of peace, had sent his brother Thearides to Olympia, to dispute the prizes of poetry and the chariot race in his name. When he arrived in the assembly, the beauty as well as number of his chariots, and the magnificence of his pavilion, embroidered with gold and silver, attracted the eyes and admiration of all the spectators. The ear was no less charmed when the poems of Dionysius began to be read. He had chosen expressly for the occasion \* readers with sonorous, musical voices, who might be heard far and distinctly, and who knew how to give a just emphasis and numerosity to the verses they repeated. At first this had a very happy effect, and the whole audience were deceived by the

(e) Diod. I. xiv. p. 318.

\* These readers were called *παφιστοι*.

art and sweetness of pronunciation. But that charm was soon at an end, and the mind not long amused by the ears. The verses then appeared in all their ridicule. The audience were ashamed of having applauded them, and their praise was turned into laughter, scorn, and insult. To express their contempt and indignation, they tore Dionysius's rich pavilion in pieces. Lyfias, the celebrated orator, who was come to the Olympic games to dispute the prize of eloquence, which he had carried several times before, undertook to prove, that it was inconsistent with the honour of Greece, the friend and assertor of liberty, to admit an impious tyrant to share in the celebration of the sacred games, who had no other thoughts than of subjecting all Greece to his power. Dionysius was not affronted in that manner then; but the event proved as little in his favour. His chariots having entered the lists, were all of them either carried out of the course by an headlong impetuosity, or dashed in pieces against one another. And to complete the misfortune, the galley, which carried the persons Dionysius had sent to the games, met with a violent storm, and did not return to Syracuse without great difficulty. When the pilots arrived there, out of hatred and contempt for the tyrant, they reported throughout the city, that it was his vile poems which had occasioned so many miscarriages to the readers, racers, and even the ship itself. This bad success did not at all discourage Dionysius, nor make him abate any thing in his high opinion of his poetic vein. The flatterers, who abounded in his court, did not fail to insinuate, that such injurious treatment of his poems could proceed only from envy, which always fastens upon what is most excellent; and that, sooner or later, the invidious themselves would be convinced by demonstration, to do justice to his merit, and acknowledge his superiority to all other poets.

(f) The extravagance of Dionysius in that respect was inconceivable. He was undoubtedly a great warrior, and an excellent captain; but he fancied himself a much better poet, and believed that his verses were a far greater ho-

(f) Diod. l. xv. p. 331.

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nour to him than all his victories. To attempt to deceive him in an opinion so favourable to himself, had been an ill way of making court to him; so that all the learned men and poets, who eat at his table in great numbers, seemed to be in an ecstacy of admiration, whenever he read them his poems. Never, according to them, was there any comparison: all was great, all noble in his poetry: all was majestic, or, to speak more properly, all divine.

Philoxenus was the only one of all the tribe who did not run with the stream into excessive praises and flattery. He was a man of great reputation, and excelled in dithyrambic poetry. There is a story told of him, which Fontaine has known how to apply admirably. Being at table with Dionysius, and seeing a very small fish set before him, and an huge one before the King, the whim took him to lay his ear close to the little fish. He was asked his meaning by that pleasantry: *I was inquiring*, said he, *into some affairs that happened in the reign of Nereus, but this young native of the floods can give me no information; yours is elder, and without doubt knows something of the matter.*

Dionysius having read one day some of his verses to Philoxenus, and having pressed him to give him his opinion of them, he answered with entire freedom, and told him plainly his real sentiments. Dionysius, who was not accustomed to such language, was extremely offended, and ascribing his boldness to envy, gave orders to carry him to the mines: the common jail being so called. The whole court were afflicted upon this account, and solicited for the generous prisoner, whose release they obtained. He was enlarged the next day, and restored to favour.

At the entertainment made that day by Dionysius for the same guests, which was a kind of ratification of the pardon, and at which they were for that reason more than usually gay and chearful, after they had plentifully regaled a great while, the prince did not fail to introduce his poems into the conversation, which were the most frequent subject of it. He chose some passages, which he had tak-



en extraordinary pains in composing, and conceived to be master-pieces; as was very discernible from the self-satisfaction and complacency he expressed whilst they were reading. But his delight could not be perfect without Philoxenus's approbation, upon which he set the greater value, as it was not his custom to be so profuse of it as the rest. What had passed the evening before, was a sufficient lesson for the poet. When Dionysius asked his thoughts of the verses, Philoxenus made no answer, but turning towards the guards, who always stood round the table, he said in a serious, though humorous tone, without any emotion, *Carry me back to the mines.* \* The prince took all the salt and spirit of that ingenious pleasantry, without being offended. The sprightliness of the conceit atoned for its freedom, which at another time would have touched him to the quick, and made him excessively angry. He only laughed at it now, and did not make a quarrel of it with the poet.

He was not in the same temper upon a gross jest of Antiphon's, which was indeed of a different kind, and seemed to argue a violent and brutal disposition. The prince in conversation asked, which was the best kind of brass. After the company had given their opinions, Antiphon said, that was the best, of which the statues of † Harmodius and Aristogiton were made. This witty expression (g), if it may be called so, cost him his life.

The friends of Philoxenus apprehending, that his too great liberty might be also attended with fatal consequences, represented to him, in the most serious manner, that those who live with princes must speak their language; that they hate to hear any thing not agreeable to themselves; that whoever does not know how to dissemble, is not qualified for a court; that the favours and liberalities which Dionysius continually bestowed upon them, well deserved the return of complaisance; that, in a word, with his blunt free-

(g) Plut. moral. p. 78. & 833.

\* Τότε μὲν διὰ τὴν εὐτραχίλιαν τῶν λόγων μαιδῆσας ὁ Διονύσιος, πῶς ἐκεῖ τὴν παρρησίαν τὴν γέλωτος τὴν μεμψιγμῶδου.

† They had delivered Athens from the tyranny of the Pisistratides.

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dom, and plain truth, he was in danger of losing, not only his fortune, but his life. Philoxenus told them, that he would take their good advice, and for the future give such a turn to his answers, as should satisfy Dionysius, without injuring truth.

Accordingly some time after, Dionysius having read a piece of his composing upon a very mournful subject, wherein he was to move compassion, and draw tears from the eyes of the audience, addressed himself again to Philoxenus, and asked him his sentiments upon it. Philoxenus gave him for answer (h) one word, which in the Greek language has two different significations. In one of them it implies mournful, moving things, such as inspire sentiments of pity and compassion; in the other, it expresses something very mean, defective, pitiful, or miserable. Dionysius, who was fond of his verses, and believed that every body must have the same good opinion of them, took that word in the favourable construction, and was extremely satisfied with Philoxenus. The rest of the company were not mistaken, but understood it in the right sense, though without explaining themselves.

Nothing could cure his folly for versification. It appears from Diodorus Siculus (i), that having sent his poems a second time to Olympia, they were treated with the same ridicule and contempt as before. That news, which could not be kept from him, threw him into an excess of melancholy, which he could never get over, and turned soon after into a kind of madness and frenzy. He complained that envy and jealousy, the certain enemies of true merit, were always at variance with him, and that all the world conspired to the ruin of his reputation. He accused his best friends of the same design; some of whom he put to death, and others he banished; amongst whom were Leptinus his brother, and Philistus, who had done him such great services, and to whom he was obliged for his power. They retired to Thurium in Italy, from whence they were recalled some time after, and reinstated in all their fortunes

(h) *Οἷμα*.

(i) Diod. l. xv. p. 332.

and his favour: Leptinus in particular, who married Dionysius's daughter.

(k) To remove his melancholy for the ill success of his verses, it was necessary to find some employment, with which his wars and buildings supplied him. He had formed a design of establishing powerful colonies in the part of Italy situate upon the Adriatic sea, facing Epirus: in order that this fleet might not want a secure retreat, when he should employ his forces on that side; and with this view, he made an alliance with the Illyrians, and restored Alcetes King of the Molossians to his throne. His principal design was, to attack Epirus, and to make himself master of the immense treasures which had been for many ages amassing in the temple of Delphos. Before he could set this project on foot, which required great preparations, he seemed to make an essay of his genius for it, by another of the same kind, though of much more easy execution. Having made a sudden irruption into Tuscany, under the pretence of pursuing pyrates, he plundered a very rich temple in the suburbs of Agyllum, a city of that country, and carried away a sum exceeding four million five hundred thousand livres (l). He had occasion for money to support his great expences at Syracuse, as well in fortifying the port, and to make it capable of receiving two hundred galleys, as to inclose the whole city with good walls, erect magnificent temples, and build a place of exercise upon the banks of the river Anapus.

(m) At the same time, he formed the design of driving the Carthaginians entirely out of Sicily. A first victory which he gained, put him almost in a condition to accomplish his project: but the loss of a second battle, in which his brother Leptinus was killed, put an end to his hopes, and obliged him to enter into a treaty, by which he gave up several towns to the Carthaginians, and paid them great sums of money to reimburse their expences in the war. An attempt which he made upon them some years after, taking

(k) Diod. l. xv. p. 336, 337. (l) 1500 talents, or about 200,000 l. Sterling. (m) See the history of the Carthaginians.

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advantage of the desolation occasioned by the plague at Carthage, had no better success.

(n) Another victory of a very different kind, though not less at his heart, made him amends, or at least comforted him for the ill success of his arms. He had caused a tragedy of his to be represented at Athens, for the prize in the celebrated feast of Bacchus, and was declared victor. Such a victory with the Athenians, who were the best judges of this kind of literature, seems to argue the poetry of Dionysius not so *mean* and *pitiful*, and that it is very possible, that the aversion of the Greeks for every thing which came from a tyrant, had a great share in the contemptuous sentences passed upon his poems in the Olympic games. However it was, Dionysius received the news with inexpressible transports of joy. Public thanksgivings were made to the gods, the temples being scarce capable of containing the concourse of the people. Nothing was seen throughout the city but feasting and rejoicing; and Dionysius regaled all his friends with the most extraordinary magnificence. Self-satisfied to a degree that cannot be described, he believed himself at the summit of glory, and did the honours of his table with a gaiety and ease, and at the same time with a grace and dignity, that charmed all the world. He invited his guests to eat and drink more by his example than expressions, and carried his civilities of that kind to such an excess, that, at the close of the banquet, he was seized with violent pains, occasioned by an indigestion, of which it was not difficult to foresee the consequences.

(o) Dionysius had three children by his wife Doris, and four by Aristomache, of which two were daughters, the one named *Sophrosyne*, the other *Arete*. *Sophrosyne* was married to his eldest son, Dionysius the younger, whom he had by his Locrian wife, and *Arete* espoused her brother Theorides. But Theorides dying soon, Dion married his widow *Arete*, who was his own niece.

As Dionysius's distemper left no hopes of his life, Dion

(n) Diod. l. xv. p. 384, 385.

(o) Plut. in Dion. p. 960.



took upon him to discourse him upon his children, by Aristomache, who were at the same time his brothers-in-law and nephews, and to insinuate to him, that it was just to prefer the issue of his Syracusan wife to that of a stranger. But the physicians, desirous of making their court to young Dionysius, the Locrian's son, for whom the throne was intended, did not give him time to alter his purpose: for Dionysius having demanded a medicine to make him sleep, they gave him so strong a dose as quite stupified his senses, and laid him in a sleep that lasted the rest of his life. He had reigned thirty eight years.

He was certainly a prince of very great political and military abilities, and had occasion for them all, in raising himself as he did, from a mean condition to so high a rank. After having held the sovereignty thirty-eight years, he transmitted it peaceably to a successor of his own issue and election; and had established his power upon such solid foundations, that his son, notwithstanding the slenderness of his capacity for governing, retained it twelve years after his death. All which could not have been effected, without a great fund of merit to his capacity. But what qualities could cover the vices which rendered him the object of his husband's abhorrence? his ambition knew neither law nor limitation; his avarice spared nothing, not even the most sacred places; his cruelty had often no regard to the affinity of blood: and his open and professed impiety only acknowledged the Divinity to insult him.

In his return to Syracuse, with a very favourable wind, from plundering the temple of Proserpine at Locris, See, said he to his friends, with a smile of contempt, *how the immortal Gods favour the navigation of the sacrilegious!*

(p) Having occasion for money to carry on the war against the Carthaginians, he rifled the temple of Jupiter, and took from that god a robe of solid gold, which ornament Hiero the tyrant had given him out of the spoils of the Carthaginians. He even jested upon that occasion, saying, that a robe of gold was much too heavy in summer, and too cold in winter; and at the same time ordered one

(p) Cic. de natura deor. l. xv. p. 83, 84.

of wool to be thrown over the god's shoulders; adding, that such an habit would be commodious in all seasons.

Another time he ordered the golden beard of Æsculapius of Epidaurus to be taken off; giving for his reason, that it was very inconsistent for the son to have a beard\*, when the father had none.

He caused all the tables of silver to be taken out of the temples; and as there was generally inscribed upon them, according to the custom of the Greeks, TO THE GOOD GODS, he would, he said, take the benefit of their GOODNESS.

As for less prizes, such as cups and crowns of gold, which the statues held in their hands, those he carried off without any ceremony; saying, it was not taking, but receiving them; and that it was idle and ridiculous to ask the gods perpetually for good things, and to refuse them, when they held out their hands themselves to present them to you. These spoils were carried by his order to the market, and sold at the public sale; and when he had got the money for them, he ordered proclamation to be made, that whoever had in their custody any things taken out of sacred places, should restore them entire, within a limited time, to the temples from whence they were brought; adding in this manner to his impiety to the gods, injustice to man.

The amazing precautions that Dionysius thought necessary to the security of his life, shew to what anxiety and apprehension he was abandoned. (q) He wore under his robe a cuirass of brass. He never harangued the people but from the top of an high tower; and thought proper to make himself invulnerable, by being inaccessible. Not daring to confide in any of his friends or relations, his guard was composed of slaves and strangers. He went abroad as little as possible; fear obliging him to condemn himself to a kind of imprisonment. These extraordinary precautions regard, without doubt, certain intervals of his reign, when frequent conspiracies against him rendered him more timid and suspicious than usual; for at other times we have seen,

(q) Cic. Tusc. Quæst. l. v. n. 57---63, Plut. de garrul. p. 508.

\* Apollo's statues had no beards,

that he conversed freely enough with the people, and was accessible even to familiarity. In those dark days of distrust and fear, he fancied that he saw all mankind in arms against him. (r) A word which escaped his barber, who boasted, by way of jest, that he held a razor at the tyrant's throat every week, cost him his life. From thenceforth, not to abandon his head and life to the hands of a barber, he made his daughters, though very young, do him that despicable office; and when they were more advanced in years, he took the scissars and razors from them, and taught them to singe off his beard with nut-shells. (s) He was at last reduced to do himself that office, not daring, it seems, to trust his own daughters any longer. He never went into the chamber of his wives at night, till they had been first searched with the utmost care and circumspection. His bed was surrounded with a very broad and deep trench, with a small draw bridge over it for the entrance. After having well locked and bolted the doors of his apartment, he drew up the bridge, that he might sleep in security. (t) Neither his brother, nor even his son, could be admitted into his chamber, without first changing their cloaths, and being visited by the guards. Is passing one's days in such a continual circle of distrust and terror, to live, to reign!

In the midst of all his greatness, possessed of riches, and surrounded with pleasures of every kind, during a reign of almost forty years, notwithstanding all his presents and profusions, he never was capable of making a single friend. He passed his life with none but trembling slaves and sordid flatterers, and never tasted the joy of loving or of being beloved, nor the charms of social truth and reciprocal confidence. This he owned himself upon an occasion not unworthy of repetition.

(u) Damon and Pythias had both been educated in the principles of the Pythagorean philosophy, and were united to each other in the strictest ties of friendship, which they had mutually sworn to observe with inviolable fidelity.

(r) Plut. de garrul. p. 508. (s) Cic. de Offic. l. ii. n. 55.  
(t) Plut. in Dion, p. 961. (u) Cic. de Offic. l. iii. n. 43; Val. Max. l. iv. c. 7.

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Their faith was put to a severe trial. One of them being condemned to die by the tyrant, petitioned to make a journey into his own country, to settle his affairs, promising to return at a fixed time, the other generously offering to be his security. The courtiers, and Dionysius in particular, expected with impatience the event of so delicate and extraordinary an adventure. The day fixed for his return drawing nigh, and he not appearing, every body began to blame the rash and imprudent zeal of his friend, who had bound himself in such a manner. But he, far from expressing any fear or concern, replied with tranquillity in his looks, and confidence in his expressions, that he was assured his friend would return; as he accordingly did upon the day and hour agreed. The tyrant struck with admiration at so uncommon an instance of fidelity, and softened with the view of so amiable an union, granted him his life, and desired to be admitted as a third person into their friendship.

(x) He expressed with equal ingenuity on another occasion what he thought of his condition. One of the courtiers, named *Damocles*, was perpetually extolling with rapture his treasures, grandeur, the number of his troops, the extent of his dominions, the magnificence of his palaces, and the universal abundance of all good things and enjoyments in his possession; always repeating, that never man was happier than Dionysius. "Because you are of that opinion," said the tyrant to him one day, "will you taste, and make proof of my felicity in person?" The offer was accepted with joy. Damocles was placed upon a golden bed, covered with carpets of inestimable value. The sideboards were loaded with vessels of gold and silver. The most beautiful slaves in the most splendid habits stood around, watching the least signal to serve him. The most exquisite essences and perfumes had not been spared, the table was spread with proportionate magnificence. Damocles was all joy, and looked upon himself as the happiest man in the world; when, unfortunately casting up his eyes, he beheld over his head the point of a sword, which hung from the roof only by a single horse-hair. He was im-

(x) Cic. Tusc. Quæst. l. v. n. 61, 62.



mediately seized with a cold sweat; every thing disappeared in an instant: he could see nothing but the sword, nor think of any thing but his danger. In the height of his fear, he desired permission to retire, and declared he would be happy no longer. A very natural image of the life of a tyrant. Ours reigned, as I have observed before, thirty eight years.

## C H A P. II.

**T**His chapter includes the history of Dionysius the younger, tyrant of Syracuse, son of the former; and that of Dion, his near relation.

SECT. I. *Dionysius the younger succeeds his father. Dion engages him to invite Plato to his court. Surprising alteration occasioned by his presence. Conspiracy of the courtiers to prevent the effects of it.*

(y) **D**IONYSIUS the elder was succeeded by one of his sons of his own name, commonly called *Dionysius the younger*. After his father's funeral had been solemnized with the utmost magnificence, he assembled the people, and desired they would have the same good inclinations for him as they had professed for his father. They were very different from each other in their character: (z) for the latter was as peaceable and calm in his disposition as the former was active and enterprising; which would have been no disadvantage to his people, had that mildness and moderation been the effect of a wise and judicious understanding, and not of natural sloth and indolence of temper.

It was surprizing to see Dionysius the younger take quiet possession of the tyranny, after the death of his father, as of a right of inheritance, notwithstanding the passion of the Syracusans for liberty, which could not but revive upon so favourable an occasion, and the weakness of a young prince, undistinguished by his merit, and void of experience.

(y) A. M. 3633. Ant. J. C. 372.; l. xvi. Diod. l. xv. p. 395.

(z) Id. p. 410.

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It seemed as if the last years of the elder Dionysius, who had applied himself, towards the close of his life, in making his subjects taste the advantages of his government, had, in some measure, reconciled them to the tyranny; especially after his exploits by sea and land had acquired him a great reputation, and infinitely exalted the glory of the Syracusan power, which he had found means to render formidable to Carthage itself, as well as to the most potent states of Greece and Italy. Besides which, it was to be feared, that should they attempt a change in the government, the sad consequences of a civil war might deprive them of all those advantages. And at the same time, the gentle and humane disposition of young Dionysius gave them reason to entertain the most favourable hopes of the future. He therefore peaceably ascended his father's throne.

England has seen something of this kind in the famous Cromwell, who died in his bed with as much tranquillity as the best of princes, and was interred with the same honours and pomp as the most lawful sovereign. Richard his son succeeded him, and was for some time in equal authority with his father, though he had not any of his great qualities.

(a) Dion, the bravest, and at the same time the wisest of the Syracusans, Dionysius's brother-in-law, might have been of great support to him, had he known how to make use of his counsels. In the first assembly held by Dionysius and all his friends, Dion spoke in so wise a manner upon what was necessary and expedient in the present conjuncture, as shewed, that the rest were like infants in comparison with him, and, in regard to a just boldness and freedom of speech, were no more than despicable slaves of the tyranny, solely employed in the abject endeavour of pleasing the prince. But what surprized and amazed them most was, that Dion, at a time when the whole court were struck with terror at the prospect of the storm, forming on the side of Carthage, and just ready to break upon Sicily, should insist, that if Dionysius desired peace, he would embark immediately for Africa, and dispel this tempest to his satisfaction; or, if

(a) Plut. in Dion. p. 260, 261.

he preferred the war, that he would furnish and maintain him fifty galleys of three benches completely equipped for service.

Dionysius, admiring and extolling his generous magnanimity to the skies, professed the highest gratitude to him for his zeal and affection: but the courtiers, who looked upon Dion's magnificence as a reproach to themselves, and his great power as lessening of their own, took immediate occasion from thence to calumniate him, and spared no discourse that might influence the young prince against him. They insinuated, that in making himself strong at sea, he would open his way to the tyranny; and that he designed to transport the sovereignty on board his vessels to his nephews, the sons of Aristomache.

But what put them most out of humour with Dion, was his manner of life, which was a continual reproach to theirs. For these courtiers having presently insinuated themselves, and got the ascendant of the young tyrant, who had been wretchedly educated, thought of nothing but of supplying him perpetually with new amusements, keeping him always employed in feasting, abandoned to women, and all manner of shameful pleasures. (b) In the beginning of his reign he made a debauch, which continued for three months entire; during all which time his palace, shut against all persons of sense and reason, was crowded with drunkards, and resounded with nothing but low buffoonery, obscene jests, lewd songs, dances, masquerades, and every kind of gross and dissolute extravagance. It is therefore natural to believe, that nothing could be more offensive and disgusting to them than the presence of Dion, who gave into none of these pleasures. For which reason, painting his virtues in such of the colours of vice as were most likely to disguise them, they found means to calumniate him with the prince, and to make his gravity pass for arrogance, and his freedom of speech for insolence and sedition. If he advanced any wise counsel, they treated him as a sour pedagogue, who took upon him to obtrude his lectures, and to school his prince without being asked; and if he refused to share in the de-

(b) Athen. l. x. p. 435.

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VOL. V.

bauch with the rest, they called him *a man-hater, a splenetic melancholy wretch*, who, from the fantastic height of virtue, looked down with contempt upon the rest of the world, of whom he set himself up for the censor.

And indeed it must be confessed, that he had naturally something austere and rigid in his manners and behaviour, which seemed to argue an haughtiness of nature very capable, not only of disgusting a young prince, nurtured from his infancy amidst flatteries and submissions, but the best of his friends, and those who were most nearly attached to him. Full of admiration for his integrity, fortitude, and nobleness of sentiments, they represented to him, that for a statesman, who ought to know how to adapt himself to the different tempers of men, and to apply them to his purposes, his humour was much too rough and forbidding.

(c) Plato afterwards took pains to correct that defect in him, by making him intimate with a philosopher of a gay and polite turn of mind, whose conversation was very proper to inspire him with more easy and insinuating manners. He observes also upon that failing in a letter to him, wherein he speaks to this effect; *Consider, I beg you, that you are censured of being deficient in point of good nature and affability; and be entirely assured, that the most certain means to the success of affairs, is to be agreeable to the persons with whom we have to transact.* \* *An haughty carriage keeps people at a distance, and reduces a man to pass his life in solitude.*

Notwithstanding this defect, he continued to be highly considered at court; where his superior abilities, and transcendent merit, made him absolutely necessary, especially at a time when the state was threatened with great danger and emergency.

(d) As he believed that all the vices of young Dionysius were the effects of his bad education, and entire ignorance

(c) Plat. epist. 4. (d) Plut. in Dion. p. 962.; Plat. epist. 7. p. 327, 328.

\* Ηδ' αυταδεια ερημια ζυνοικος. M. Dacier renders these words, Pride is always the companion of solitude. I have shewn elsewhere wherein this version is faulty. Art of teaching the belles lettres, vol. iii. p. 505.



of his duty, he conceived justly, that the best remedy would be to associate him, if possible, with persons of wit and sense, whose solid, but agreeable conversation, might at once instruct and divert him: for the prince did not naturally want parts and genius.

The sequel will shew, that Dionysius the younger had a natural propensity to what was good and virtuous, and a taste and capacity for arts and sciences. He knew how to set a value upon the merit and talents by which men are distinguished. He delighted in conversing with persons of ability, and from his correspondence with them made himself capable of the highest improvements. He went so far as to familiarise the throne with the sciences, which of themselves have little or no access to it; and by rendering them in a manner his favourites, he gave them courage to make their appearance in courts. His protection was the patent of nobility by which he raised them to honour and distinction. Nor was he insensible to the joys of friendship. In private life he was a good parent, relation, and master, and acquired the affection of all that approached him. He was not naturally inclined to violence or cruelty; and it might be said of him, that he was rather a tyrant by succession and inheritance, than by temper and inclination.

All which demonstrates, that he might have made a very tolerable prince, (not to say a good one), had an early and proper care been taken to cultivate the happy disposition which he brought into the world with him. But his father, to whom all merit, even in his own children, gave umbrage, industriously suppressed in him all tendency to goodness, and every noble and elevated sentiment, by a base and obscure education, with the view of preventing his attempting any thing against himself. It was therefore necessary to find a person of the character before-mentioned, or rather to inspire himself with the desire of having such an one found.

This was what Dion laboured with wonderful address. He often talked to him of Plato, as the most profound and illustrious of philosophers, whose merit he had experienced, and to whom he was obliged for all he knew. He

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enlarged upon the elevation of his genius, the extent of his knowledge, the amiableness of his character, and the charms of his conversation. He represented him particularly as the man of the world most capable of forming him in the arts of governing, upon which his own and the peoples happiness depended. He told him, that his subjects, governed for the future with lenity and indulgence, as a good father governs his family, would voluntarily render that obedience to his moderation and justice, which force and violence extorted from them against their will; and that by such a conduct he would, from a tyrant, become a just king, to whom all submission would be paid out of affection and gratitude.

It is incredible how much these discourses, introduced in conversation from time to time, as if by accident, without affectation, or the appearance of any premeditated design, inflamed the young prince with the desire of knowing and conversing with Plato. He wrote to him in the most importunate and obliging manner to that purpose; he dispatched couriers after couriers to hasten his voyage; whilst Plato, who apprehended the consequences, and had small hopes of any good effect of it, protracted the affair, and, without absolutely refusing, sufficiently intimated, that he could not resolve upon it, without doing violence to himself. The obstacles and difficulties made to the young prince's request, were so far from disgusting him, that they only served, as it commonly happens, to inflame his desire. The Pythagorean philosophers of Grecia Major in Italy joined their intreaties with his and Dion's, who, on his part, redoubled his instances, and used the strongest arguments to conquer Plato's repugnance. "This is not," said he, "the concern of a private person, but of a powerful prince, whose change of manners will have the same effect throughout his whole dominions, with the extent of which you are not unacquainted. It is himself who makes all these advances; who importunes and solicits you to come to his assistance, and employs the interest of all your friends to that purpose. What more favourable conjuncture could we expect from the divine providence, than that which

now offers itself? Are you not afraid that your delays will give the flatterers who surround the young prince, the opportunity of drawing him over to themselves, and of seducing him to change his resolution? What reproaches would you not make yourself, and what dishonour would it not be to philosophy, should it ever be said, that Plato, whose counsels to Dionysius might have established a wise and equitable government in Sicily, abandoned it to all the evils of tyranny, rather than to undergo the fatigues of a voyage, or from I know not what other imaginary difficulties?"

(e) Plato could not resist solicitations of so much force. Vanquished by the consideration of his own character, and to obviate the reproach of his being a philosopher in words only, without having ever shewed himself such in his actions, and conscious besides of the great advantages which Sicily might acquire from his voyage, he suffered himself to be persuaded.

The flatterers at the court of Dionysius, terrified with the resolution he had taken contrary to their remonstrances, and fearing the presence of Plato, of which they foresaw the consequences, united together against him as their common enemy. They rightly judged, that if, according to the new maxims of government, all things were to be measured by the standard of true merit, and no favour to be expected from the prince, but from the services done the state, they had nothing further to expect, and might wait their whole lives at court to no manner of purpose. They therefore spared no pains to render Plato's voyage ineffectual, though they were not able to prevent it. They prevailed upon Dionysius to recal Philistus from banishment, who was not only an able soldier, but a great historian, very eloquent and learned, and a zealous assertor of the tyranny. They hoped to find a counterpoise in him against Plato and his philosophy. Upon his being banished by Dionysius the elder on some personal discontent, he retired into the city of Adria, where it was believed he

(e) Plut. in Dion. p. 962.

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composed the greatest part of his writings. (f) He wrote the history of Egypt in twelve books, that of Sicily in eleven, and of Dionysius the tyrant in six; all which works are entirely lost. Cicero praises \* him much, and calls him *Thucydides the less, pene pusillus Thucydides*, to signify that he copied after that author not unhappily. The courtiers at the same time made complaints against Dionysius, accusing him with having held conferences with Theodotus and Heraclides, the secret enemies of that prince, upon measures for subverting the tyranny.

(g) This was the state of affairs when Plato arrived in Sicily. He was received with infinite caresses, and with the highest marks of honour and respect. Upon his landing, he found one of the prince's chariots equally magnificent in its horses and ornaments attending upon him. The tyrant offered a sacrifice, as if some singular instance of good fortune had befallen him: nor was he mistaken; for a wise man, who is capable of giving a prince good counsels, is a treasure of inestimable value to a whole nation. But the worth of such a person is rarely known, and more rarely applied to the uses which might be made of it.

Plato found the most happy dispositions imaginable in young Dionysius, who applied himself entirely to his lessons and counsels. But as he had improved infinitely from the precepts and example of Socrates his master, the most exquisite of all the Pagan world in forming the mind for a right taste of truth, he took care to adapt himself with wonderful address to the young tyrant's humour, avoiding all direct attacks upon his passions; taking pains to acquire his confidence by kind and insinuating behaviour; and particularly endeavouring to render virtue amiable, and at the same time triumphant over vice, which keeps

(f) Diod. l. xiii. p. 222.

(g) Plut. in Dion. p. 963.

\* Hunc Thucydidem consecutus est Syracusius, Philistus, qui cum Dionysii tyranni familiarissimus esset, etiam suum consumpsit in historia scribenda, maximeque Thucydidem est, sicut mihi videtur imitatus. Cic. de Orat. l. ii. n. 57.

Siculus ille creber, acutus, brevis, pene pusillus Thucydides. Id. Epist. 13. ad Q. frat. l. ii.



mankind in its chains, by the sole force of allurements, pleasures, and voluptuousness.

The change was sudden and surprising. The young prince, who till then had abandoned himself to idleness, pleasure, and luxury, and was ignorant of all the duties of his character, the inevitable consequence of a dissolute life, awaking as from a lethargic sleep, began to open his eyes, to have some idea of the beauty of virtue, and to relish the refined pleasure of conversation equally solid and agreeable. He was now as passionately fond of learning and instruction, as he had once been averse and repugnant to them. The court, which always apes the prince, and falls in with his inclination in every thing, entered into the same way of thinking. The apartments of the palace, like so many schools of geometry, were full of the dust made use of by the professors of that science in tracing their figures; and in a very short time the study of philosophy and of every kind of literature, became the reigning and universal taste.

The great benefit of these studies in regard to a prince, does not consist alone in storing his mind with an infinity of the most curious, useful, and often necessary notions of things, but has the farther advantage of abstracting himself from idleness, indolence, and the frivolous amusements of a court; of habituating him to a life of application and reflection; of inspiring him with a passion to inform himself in the duties of the sovereignty, and to know the characters of such as have excelled in the art of reigning; in a word, of making himself capable of governing the state in his own person, and of seeing every thing with his own eyes; that is to say, to be indeed a king; but that the courtiers and flatterers are almost always unanimous in opposing.

They were considerably alarmed by a word that escaped Dionysius, and shewed how much he was affected with the discourses he had heard upon the happiness of a king, regarded with tender affection by his people as their common father, and the wretched condition of a tyrant, whom they abhor, and detest. Some days after Plato's arrival,

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was the anniversary, on which a solemn sacrifice was offered in the palace for the prince's prosperity. The herald having prayed to this effect, according to custom, *That it would please the gods to support the tyranny, and preserve the tyrant*; Dionysius, who was not far from him, and to whom those terms began to grow odious, called out to him aloud, *Will you not give over cursing me?* Philistus and his party were infinitely alarmed at that expression, and judged from it, that time and habit must give Plato an invincible ascendant over Dionysius, if the correspondence of a few days could so entirely alter his disposition. They therefore set themselves at work upon new and more effectual stratagems against him.

They began by turning the retired life which Dionysius led with Plato, and the studies in which he employed himself, into ridicule, as if intended to make a philosopher of him. But that was not all; they laboured in concert to render the zeal of Dion and Plato suspected, and even odious to him. They represented them as \*impertinent censors, and imperious pedagogues, who assumed an authority over him, which neither consisted with his age nor rank. † It is no wonder that a young prince like Dionysius, who, with the most excellent natural parts, and amidst the best examples, would have found it difficult to have supported himself, should at length give way to such artful insinuations in a court, that had long been infected, where there was no emulation but to excel in vice, and where he was continually besieged by a croud of flatterers incessantly praising and admiring him in every thing.

But the principal application of the courtiers was to decry the character and conduct of Dion himself; not separately, nor in the method of whisper, but all together, and in public. They talked openly, and to whoever would give them the hearing, that it was very visible, Dion made use of Plato's eloquence to insinuate and inchant Dionysius,

\* Tristes et superciliosos alienae vitae censores, publicos pedagogos. Sen. Epist. 123.

† Vix artibus honestis pudor retinetur, nedum inter certamina vitiorum pudicitia, aut modestia, aut quidquam probi moris servaretur. Tacit. Annal. l. iv. c. 15.

with design to draw him into a voluntray resignation of the throne, that he might take possession of it for his nephews, the children of Aristomache, and establish them in the sovereignty. They added, that it was very extraordinary and afflicting, that the Athenians, who had formerly invaded Sicily, with great forces both by sea and land, which had all perished there, without being able to take Syracuse, should now with a single sophist, attain their point, and subvert the tyranny of Dionysius, by persuading him to dismiss the ten thousand strangers of his guard; to lay aside his fleet of four hundred galleys, which he always kept in readiness for service; and to disband his ten thousand horse, and the greatest part of his foot; for the sake of going to find in the academy, (the place where Plato taught), a pretended supreme good, not explicable, and to make himself happy in imagination, by the study of geometry, whilst he abandoned to Dion and his nephews a real and substantial felicity, consisting in empire, riches, luxury, and pleasure.

SECT. II. *Banishment of Dion, Plato quits the court soon after, and returns into Greece. Dion admired by all the learned. Plato returns to Syracuse.*

THE courtiers intent upon making the best use of every favourable moment, perpetually besieged the young prince, and covering their secret motives under the appearance of zeal for his service, and an affected moderation in regard to Dion, incessantly advised him to take proper measures for the security of his life and throne. Such repeated discourses soon raised in the mind of Dionysius the most violent suspicions of Dion, which presently increased into fierce resentment, and broke out in an open rupture. Letters were privately brought to Dionysius, written by Dion to the Carthaginian ambassadors, wherein he tells them, *that when they should treat of peace with Dionysius, he would advise them not to open the conferences but in his presence; because he would assist them in making the treaty more firm and lasting.* Dionysius read these letters to Philistus; and having concerted with him

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what measures to take, (h) he amused Dion with the appearance of a reconciliation, and led him alone to the seaside below the citadel, where he shewed him his letters, and accused him of having entered into a league against him with the Carthaginians. Dion would have justified himself; but he refused to hear him; and made him immediately go on board a brigantine, which had orders to carry him to the coast of Italy, and to leave him there. Dion immediately after set sail for Peloponnesus.

(i) So hard and unjust a treatment could not fail of making abundance of noise, and the whole city declared against it; especially as it was reported, though without foundation, that Plato had been put to death. (k) Dionysius, who apprehended the consequences, took pains to appease the public discontent, and to obviate complaints. He gave Dion's relations two vessels, to transport to him in Peloponnesus his riches and numerous family; for he had the equipage of a king.

As soon as Dion was gone, Dionysius made Plato change his lodging, and brought him into the citadel; in appearance to do him honour, but in reality to assure himself of his person, and prevent him from going to join Dion. In bringing Plato nearer to him, he might also have in view the opportunity of hearing him more frequently, and more commodiously. For, charmed with the delights of his conversation, and studious of pleasing him in every thing, and to merit his affection, he had conceived an esteem, or rather passion for him, which rose even to jealousy, but a jealousy of that violence, that could suffer neither companion nor rival. He was for ingrossing him entirely to himself, for reigning solely in his thoughts and affections, and for being the only object of his love and esteem. He seemed content to give him all his treasures and authority, provided he would but love him better than Dion, and not prefer the latter's friendship to his. Plutarch has reason to call this passion a *tyrannic affection* (l). Plato had much to suffer from it; for it had all the symptoms of the most

(h) Diod. l. xvi. p. 410, 411. (i) Plut. in Dion. p. 964.  
(k) Plat. Epist. 7. (l) *πραοδὴ τυραννικὸν ἔρωτα.*



ardent jealousy. \* Sometimes it was all friendship, caresses, and fond respect, with an unbounded effusion of heart, and an endless swell of tender sentiments: sometimes it was all reproaches, menaces, fierce passion, and wild emotion; and soon after it sunk into repentance, excuses, tears, and humble intreaties of pardon and forgiveness.

About this time a war broke out very conveniently for Plato; which obliged Dionysius to restore him his liberty, and send him home. At his departure, he would have laden him with presents, but Plato refused them, contenting himself with his promise to recall Dion the following spring. He did not keep his word, and only sent him his revenues, desiring Plato in his letters to excuse his breach of promise at the time prefixed, and to impute it only to the war. He assured him, as soon as peace should be concluded, that Dion should return; upon condition, however, that he should continue quiet, and not to intermeddle in affairs, nor endeavour to lessen him in the opinion of the Greeks.

Plato, in his return to Greece, went to see the games at Olympia, where he happened to lodge amongst strangers of distinction. He eat, and passed whole days with them, behaving himself in a plain and simple manner, without ever mentioning Socrates, or the academy, or making himself known in any thing, except that his name was *Plato*. The strangers were overjoyed at having met with so kind and amiable a companion; but as he never talked any thing out of common conversation, they had not the least notion that he was the philosopher whose reputation was so universal. When the games were over, they went with him to Athens, where he provided them with lodgings. They were scarce arrived there, when they desired him to carry them to see the famous philosopher of his name, who had been Socrates's disciple. Plato told them smiling, that he was the man; upon which the strangers, surprised at their having possessed so inestimable a treasure, without

\* In amore haec omnia insunt vitia; suspiciones, inimicitiae, injuriae, induciae, bellum, pax rursus. Terent. in Eunuch.

In amore haec sunt mala, bellum, pax rursus, Horat.

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knowing it, were much displeased with, and secretly reproached themselves for not having discerned the great merit of the man, through the veil of simplicity and modesty he had thrown over it, whilst they admired him the more upon that account.

(m) The time Dion passed at Athens was not lost. He employed it chiefly in the study of philosophy, for which he had a great taste, and which was become his passion. \* He knew, however, which is not very easy, to confine it within its just bounds, and never gave himself up to it at the expence of any duty. It was at the same time Plato made him contract a particular friendship with his nephew Speusippus, who, uniting the easy and insinuating manners of a courtier with the gravity of a philosopher, knew how to associate mirth and innocent pleasure with the most serious affairs; and by that character, very rarely found amongst men of learning, was the most proper of all men to soften what was too rough and austere in the humour of Dion.

Whilst Dion was at Athens, it fell to Plato's turn to give the public games, and to have tragedies performed at the feast of Bacchus, which was usually attended with great magnificence and expence, from an extraordinary emulation which had grown into fashion. Dion defrayed the whole charge. Plato, who was studious of all occasions of producing him to the public, was well pleased to resign that honour to him, as his magnificence might make him still better beloved and esteemed by the Athenians.

Dion visited also the other cities of Greece, where he was present at all their feasts and assemblies, and conversed with the most excellent wits, and the most profound statesmen. He was not distinguished in company by the loftiness and pride too common in persons of his rank, but, on the contrary, by an unaffected, simple, and modest air; and especially by the elevation of his genius, the extent of his knowledge, and the wisdom of his reflections. All ci-

(m) Plut. in Dion. p. 964.

\* Retinuitque, quod est difficillimum, ex sapientia modum. Tacit. in vit. Agric. n. 4.

ties paid him the highest honours, and the Lacedaemonians declared him a citizen of Sparta, without regard to the resentment of Dionysius, though he actually assisted them at that time with a powerful supply in their war against the Thebans. So many marks of esteem and distinction alarmed the tyrant's jealousy. He put a stop to the remittance of Dion's revenues, and ordered them to be received by his own officers.

(n) After Dionysius had put an end to the war he was engaged in in Sicily, of which history relates no circumstance, he was afraid that his treatment of Plato would prejudice the philosophers against him, and make them pass for their enemy. For this reason he invited the most learned men of Italy to his court, where he held frequent assemblies, in which, out of a foolish ambition, he endeavoured to excel them all in eloquence and profound knowledge; venting, without application, such of Plato's discourses as he retained. But as he had those discourses only by rote, and his heart had never been rightly affected with them, the source of his eloquence was soon exhausted. He then perceived what he had lost, by not having made a better use of that treasure of wisdom once in his own possession, and under his own roof, and by not having heard, in all their extent, the admirable lectures of the greatest philosopher in the world.

As in tyrants every thing is violent and irregular, Dionysius was suddenly seized with an excessive desire of seeing Plato again, and used all means for that purpose. He prevailed upon Architas and the other Pythagorean philosophers, to write to him that he might return with all manner of security, and to be bound for the performances of all the promises which had been made to him. They deputed Archidemus to Plato; and Dionysius sent at the same time two galleys of three benches of rowers, with several of his friends on board, to entreat his compliance. He also wrote letters to him with his own hand, in which he frankly declared, that if he would not be persuaded to come to Sicily, Dion

(n) Plat. Epist. 7. p. 338---340.; Plut. in Dion. p. 964---966.

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had nothing to expect from him; but if he came, that he might entirely dispose of every thing in his power.

Dion received several letters at the same time from his wife and sister, who pressed him to prevail upon Plato to make the voyage, and to satisfy the impatience of Dionysius, that he might have no new pretexts against him upon that account. Whatever repugnance Plato had to it, he could not resist the warm solicitations made to him, and determined to go to Sicily for the third time, at seventy years of age.

His arrival gave the whole people new hopes, who flattered themselves, that his wisdom would at length overthrow the tyranny, and the joy of Dionysius was inexpressible. He appointed the apartment of the gardens for his lodging, the most honourable in the palace had so much confidence in him, that he suffered his access to him at all hours without being searched; a favour not granted to any of his best friends.

After the first caresses were over, Plato was for entering into Dion's affair, which he had much at heart, and which was the principal motive of his voyage. But Dionysius put it off at first; to which ensued complaints and murmurings, though not outwardly expressed for some time. The tyrant took great care to conceal his sentiments upon that head, endeavouring by all manner of honours, and by all possible regard and complacency, to abate his friendship for Dion. Plato dissembled on his side, and though extremely shocked at so notorious a breach of faith, he kept his opinion to himself.

Whilst they were upon these terms, and believed that no body penetrated their secret; Helicon of Cyzicum, one of Plato's particular friends, foretold, that on a certain day there would be an eclipse of the sun; which happening, according to his prediction, exactly at the hour, Dionysius was so much surprised and astonished at it, (a proof that he was no great philosopher), that he made him a present of a \* talent. Aristippus jesting upon that occasion,

\* A thousand crowns.



said, that he had also something very incredible and extraordinary to foretel. Upon being pressed to explain himself, "I prophesy", said he, "that it will not be long before Dionysius and Plato, who seem to agree so well with each other, will be enemies."

Dionysius verified this prediction: for being weary of the constraint he laid upon himself, he ordered all Dion's land and effects to be sold, and applied the money to his own use. At the same time he made Plato quit the apartments in the garden, and gave him another lodging without the castle in the midst of his guards, who had long hated him, and would have been glad of an opportunity to kill him, because he had advised Dionysius to renounce the tyranny, to break them, and to live without any other guard but the love of his people. Plato was sensible, that he owed his life to the tyrant's favour, who restrained the fury of his guard.

Architas, the celebrated Pythagorean philosopher, who was the principal person and supreme magistrate of Tarentum, had no sooner heard of Plato's great danger, than he sent ambassadors with a gally of thirty oars to demand him from Dionysius, and to remind him, that he came to Syracuse only upon his promise, and that of all the Pythagorean Philosophers, who had engaged for his safety; that therefore he could not retain him against his will, nor suffer any insult to be done to his person, without a manifest breach of faith, and absolutely forfeiting the opinion of all honest men. These just remonstrances awakened a sense of shame in the tyrant, who at last permitted Plato to return into Greece.

(o) Philosophy and wisdom abandoned the palace with him. To the conversations as agreeable, as useful, to that taste and passion for the arts and sciences, to the grave and judicious reflections of a profoundly wise politician, idle tattle, frivolous amusements, and a stupid indolence, entirely averse to every thing serious and reasonable, were seen to succeed. Gluttony, drunkenness, and debauchery, resumed their empire at the court, and transformed it, from

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the school of virtue which it had been under Plato, into the real stable of Circe.

SECT. III. *Dion sets out to deliver Syracuse. Sudden and fortunate success of his enterprise. Horrid ingratitude of the Syracusans. Unparalleled goodness of Dion to them and his most cruel enemies. His death.*

(p) **W**HEN Plato had quitted Sicily, Dionysius threw off all reserve, and married his sister Arete, Dion's wife, to Timocrates, one of his friends. So unworthy a treatment was, in a manner, the signal of the war. From that moment Dion resolved to attack the tyrant with open force, and to revenge himself for all the wrongs he had done him. Plato did all in his power to make him change his resolution; but finding his endeavours ineffectual, he foretold the misfortunes he was about to occasion, and declared, that he must expect neither assistance nor relief from him; that as he had been the guest and companion of Dionysius, had lodged in his palace, and joined in the same sacrifices with him, he should never forget the duties of hospitality; and at the same time, not to be wanting to his friendship for Dion, that he would continue neuter, always ready to discharge the offices of a mediator between them, though he should oppose their designs, when they tended to the destruction of each other.

Whether prudence, or gratitude, or the conviction that Dion could not justifiably undertake to dethrone Dionysius; this was Plato's opinion. On the other hand Speusippus, and all the rest of Dion's friends, perpetually exhorted him to go and restore the liberty of Sicily, which opened its arms to him, and was ready to receive him with the utmost joy. This was indeed the disposition of Syracuse, which Speusippus, during his residence there with Plato, had sufficiently experienced. This was the universal cry, whilst they importuned and conjured Dion to come thither, desiring him not to be in pain for the want of ships or troops, but only to embark in the first merchant-vessel he met with,

(p) A. M. 3943. Ant. J. C. 361. Plut. in Dion. p. 966---968.

and lend his person and name to the Syracusans against Dionysius.

Dion did not hesitate any longer upon taking that resolution, which in one respect cost him not a little. From the time that Dionysius had obliged him to quit Syracuse and Sicily, he had led in his banishment the most agreeable life it was possible to imagine, for a person who, like him, had contracted a taste for the delights of study. He enjoyed in peace the conversation of the philosophers, and was present at their disputations; shining in a manner entirely peculiar to himself, by the greatness of his genius, and the solidity of his judgment; going to all the cities of the learned Greece, to see and converse with the most eminent for knowledge and capacity, and to correspond with the ablest politicians; leaving every where the marks of his liberality and magnificence; equally beloved and respected by all that knew him; and receiving where-ever he came, the highest honours, which were rendered more to his merit than his birth. It was from so happy a life that he withdrew himself to go to the relief of his country, which implored his protection, and to deliver it from the yoke of a tyranny under which it had long groaned.

No enterprize perhaps was ever formed with so much boldness, or conducted with so much prudence. Dion began to raise foreign troops privately, by proper agents, for the better concealment of his design. A great number of considerable persons, and who were at the head of affairs, joined with him. But, what is very surprising, of all those the tyrant had banished, and who were not less than a thousand, only twenty-five accompanied him in this expedition; so much had fear got the possession of them. The isle of Zacynthus was the place of rendezvous, where the troops assembled to the number of almost eight hundred; but all of them courage proved, on great occasions, excellently disciplined and robust, of an audacity and experience rarely to be found, amongst the most brave and warlike; and, in fine, highly capable of animating the troops which Dion was in hopes of finding in Sicily, and of setting them the example of fighting with all the valour so noble an enterprize required.

But when they were to set forwards, and it was known that this armament was intended against Sicily and Dionysius, (for till then it had not been declared), they were all in a consternation, and repented their having engaged in the enterprize, which they could not but conceive as the effect of extreme rashness and folly, that, in the last despair, was for putting every thing to the hazard. Dion had occasion at this time for all his resolution and eloquence to re-animate the troops, and remove their fears. But after he had spoke to them, and with an assured, though modest tone, had made them understand, that he did not lead them in this expedition as soldiers, but as officers, to put them at the head of the Syracusans, and all the people of Sicily, who had been long prepared for a revolt, their dread and sadness were changed into shouts of joy, and they desired nothing so much as to proceed on their voyage.

Dion having prepared a magnificent sacrifice to be offered to Apollo, put himself at the head of his troops completely armed, and in that equipage marched in procession to the temple. He afterwards gave a great feast to the whole company; at the end of which, after the libations and solemn prayers had been made, there happened a sudden eclipse of the moon. Dion, who was well versed in the causes of such appearances, re-assured his soldiers, who were at first in some terror upon that account. The next day they embarked on board two trading vessels, which were followed by a third not so large, and by two barks of thirty oars.

(q) Who could have imagined, says an historian, that a man, with two merchant vessels, should ever dare to attack a prince who had four \* hundred ships of war, an hundred

(q) Diod I xvi p. 413

\* It is not easy to comprehend, how the two Dionysii were capable of entertaining so great a force by sea and land, their dominions being only a part of Sicily, and consequently of no great extent. It is true, that the city of Syracuse had been very much enriched by commerce; and that those two princes received great contributions both from the places of Sicily and Italy in their dependence: but it is still no easy matter to conceive how all this should suffice to the enor-



thousand foot, and ten thousand horse, with magazines of arms and corn in proportion, and treasures sufficient to pay and maintain them; who, besides all this, was in possession of one of the greatest and strongest cities then in the world, with ports, arsenals, and impregnable citadels, with the additional strength and support of a great number of potent allies? The event will shew, whether force and power are adamant chains for retaining a state in subjection, as the elder Dionysius flattered himself; or if the goodness, humanity, and justice of princes, and the love of subjects, are not infinitely stronger and more indissoluble ties.

(r) Dion having put to sea with his small body of troops, was twelve days under sail, with little wind; and the thirteenth arrived at Pachynus, a cape of Sicily, about twelve or fifteen leagues from Syracuse. When they came up with that place, the pilot gave notice, that they must land directly, that there was reason to fear an hurricane, and therefore not proper to put to sea. But Dion, who apprehended making his descent so near the enemy, and chose to land further off, doubled the cape of Pachynus; which he had no sooner passed than a furious storm arose, attended with rain, thunder, and lightning, which drove his ships to the eastern coast of Africa, where they were in great danger of dashing to pieces against the rocks. Happily for them, a south wind rising suddenly, contrary to expectation, they unfurled all their sails; and, after having made vows to the gods, they stood out to sea for Sicily. They ran in this manner four days, and on the fifth entered the port of Minoa, a small town of Sicily under the Carthaginians; whose commander Synalus was Dion's particular friend and guest. They were perfectly well received; and would have staid there some time to refresh themselves, after the rude fatigues they had suffered during the storm, if they had not been informed, that Dionysius was absent,

(r) Plut. in Dion. p. 968, -- 972.; Diod. l. xvi. p. 414. -- 417. mous expences of Dionysius the Elder, in fitting out great fleets, raising and maintaining numerous armies, and erecting magnificent buildings. It were to be wished, that historians had given us some better lights upon this head.

## of DIONYSIUS the Younger. 193

having embarked some days before for the coast of Italy, attended by fourscore vessels. The soldiers demanded earnestly to be led on against the enemy; and Dion, having desired Sybalus to send his baggage after him when proper, marched directly to Syracuse.

His troops increased considerably upon his route, by the great number of those who came to join him from all parts. The news of his arrival being soon known at Syracuse, Timocrates, who had married Dion's wife, the sister of Dionysius, to whom he had left command of the city in his absence, dispatched a courier, to him into Italy, with advice of Dion's progress. But that courier, being almost at his journey's end, was so fatigued with having run the best part of the night, that he found himself under the necessity of stopping to take a little sleep. In the mean time, a wolf, attracted by the smell of a piece of meat which he had in his wallet, came to the place, and ran away with both the flesh and the bag, in which he had also put his dispatches. Dionysius was by this means prevented for some time from knowing that Dion was arrived, and then received the news from other hands.

When Dion was near the Anapus, which runs about half a league from the city, he ordered his troops to halt, and offered a sacrifice upon the river side, addressing his prayers to the rising sun. All who were present, seeing him with a wreath of flowers upon his head, which he wore upon account of the sacrifice, crowned themselves also in the same manner, as animated with one and the same spirit. He had been joined on his march by at least five thousand men, and advanced with them towards the city. The most considerable of the inhabitants came out in white habits to receive him at the gates. At the same time, the people fell upon the tyrant's friends, and upon the spies and informers; an accursed race of wretches \*, THE ENEMIES OF THE GODS AND MEN, says Plutarch, who made it the business of their lives, to disperse themselves into all parts, to mingle with the citizens, to pry into all their affairs, and to report to the tyrant whatever they said or

\* *Ἀνδραποδοὶ ἀνοστήσιοι καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθροί.*

thought, and often what they neither said nor thought. These were the first victims to the fury of the people, and were knocked on the head with staves immediately. Timocrates not being able to throw himself into the citadel, rode off on horseback.

At that instant Dion appeared within sight of the walls. He marched at the head of his troops magnificently armed, with his brother Megacles on one side, and Callippus the Athenian on the other, both crowned with chaplets of flowers. After him came an hundred of the foreign soldiers, fine troops whom he had chosen for his guard. The rest followed in order of battle, with their officers at the head of them. The Syracusans beheld them with inexpressible satisfaction, and received them as a sacred procession, whom the gods themselves regarded with pleasure, and who restored them their liberty with the democracy, forty-eight years after they had been banished from their city.

After Dion had made his entry, he ordered the trumpets to sound, to appease the noise and tumult; and silence being made, an herald proclaimed, *That Dion and Megacles were come to abolish the tyranny, and to free the Syracusans and the people of Sicily from the yoke of the tyrant.* And being desirous to harangue the people in person, he went to the upper part of the city, through the quarter called *Achradina*. Where-ever he passed, the Syracusans had set out, on both sides of the streets, tables and bowls, and had prepared victims; and as he came before their houses, they threw all sorts of flowers upon him, addressing vows and prayers to him as to a god. Such was the origin of idolatry; which paid divine honours to those who had done the people any great and signal services. And can there be any service, any gift, so grateful, so valuable, as that of liberty! Not far from the citadel, and below the place called *Pentapylae*, stood a sun-dial upon an high pedestal, erected by Dionysius. Dion placed himself upon it; and, in a speech to the people, exhorted them to employ their utmost efforts for the recovery and preservation of their liberty. The Syracusans, transported with what he said, and to express their gratitude and af-

section elected his brother captain-generals, with supreme authority; and by their consent, and at their intreaty, joined with them twenty of the most considerable citizens, half of whom were of the number of those who had been banished by Dionysius, and returned with Dion.

Having afterwards taken the castle of Epipolis, he set the citizens who were prisoners in it at liberty, and fortified it with strong works. Dionysius arrived from Italy seven days after, and entered the citadel by sea. The same day a great number of carriages brought Dion the arms which he had left with Syntalus. These he distributed amongst the citizens, who were unprovided. All the rest armed and equipped themselves as well as they could, expressing the greatest ardour and satisfaction.

Dionysius began by sending ambassadors to Dion and the Syracusans with proposals, which seemed very advantageous. The answer was, that, by way of preliminary, he must abdicate the tyranny; to which Dionysius did not seem averse. From thence he came to interviews and conferences; which were only feints to gain time, and abate the ardor of the Syracusans, by the hope of an accommodation. Accordingly, having made the deputies who were sent to treat with him prisoners, he suddenly attacked, with a great part of his troops, the wall with which the Syracusans had surrounded the citadel, and made several breaches in it. So warm and unexpected assault put Dion's soldiers into great confusion, who immediately fled. Dion endeavoured in vain to stop them; and believing example more prevalent than words, he threw himself fiercely into the midst of the enemy, where he stood their charge with intrepid courage, and killed great numbers of them. He received a wound in the hand from a spear; his arms were scarce proof against the great number of darts thrown at him; and his shield being pierced through in many places with spears and javelins, he was at length beat down. His soldiers immediately brought him off from the enemy. He left Timonides to command them; and getting on horseback, rode through the whole city, stopt the flight of the Syracusans; and taking the foreign soldiers, whom he had



left to guard the quarter called *Achradina*, he led them on fresh against Dionysius's troops, who were already fatigued, and entirely discouraged by so vigorous and unexpected a resistance. It was now no longer a battle, but a pursuit. A great number of the tyrant's troops were killed upon the spot, and the rest escaped with difficulty into the citadel. This victory was signal and glorious. The Syracusans, to reward the valour of the foreign troops, gave each of them a considerable sum of money; and those soldiers, to honour Dion, presented him with a crown of gold.

Soon after came heralds from Dionysius, with several letters for Dion from the women of his family, and with one from Dionysius himself. Dion ordered them all to be read in a full assembly. That of Dionysius was couched in the form of a request and justification; intermixed, however, with the most terrible menaces against the persons who were dearest to Dion; his sister, wife, and son. It was wrote with an art and address exceedingly proper to render Dion suspected. Dionysius puts him in mind of the ardor and zeal he had formerly expressed, for the support of the tyranny. He exhorts him at a distance, and with some obscurity, though easy enough to be understood, not to abolish it entirely; but to preserve it for himself. He advises him not to give the people their liberty, who were far from affecting him at heart; nor to abandon his own safety, and that of his friends and relations, to the capricious humour of a violent and inconstant multitude.

(s) The reading of this letter had the effect Dionysius proposed from it. The Syracusans, without regard to Dion's goodness to them, and the greatness of his soul, in forgetting his dearest interests, and the ties of nature, to restore them their liberty, took umbrage at his too great authority, and conceived injurious suspicions of him. The arrival of Heraclides confirmed them in their sentiments, and determined them to act accordingly. He was one of the banished persons, a good soldier, and well known amongst the troops, from having been in considerable commands under the tyrant, very bold and ambitious, and a

(s) Plut. in Dion. p. 972,---975.; Diod. l. xvi. p. 419,---422.

secret enemy of Dion's, between whom and himself there had been some difference in Peloponnesus. He came to Syracuse with seven galleys of three benches of oars, and three other vessels, not to join Dion, but in the resolution to march with his own forces against the tyrant, whom he found reduced to shut himself up in the citadel. His first endeavour was to ingratiate himself with the people; for which an open and insinuating behaviour made him very fit, whilst Dion's austere gravity was offensive to the multitude: especially as they were become more haughty and untractable from the last victory, and \* expected to be treated like a popular state, even before they could call themselves a free people; that is to say, in the full sense of the Greek terms, they were for being used with complacency, flattery, regard, and a deference to all their capricious humours.

What gratitude could be expected from a people who consulted only their passions and blind prejudices? The Syracusans formed an assembly immediately upon their own accord, and chose Heraclides admiral. Dion came unexpectedly thither, and complained highly of such a proceeding; as the charge conferred upon Heraclides was an abridgment of his office; that he was no longer generalissimo, if another commanded at sea. Those remonstrances obliged the Syracusans, against their will, to deprive Heraclides of the office they had so lately conferred upon him. When the assembly broke up, Dion sent for him, and, after some gentle reprimands for his strange conduct with regard to him, in so delicate a conjuncture, wherein the least division amongst them might ruin every thing, he summoned a new assembly himself, and, in the presence of the whole people, appointed Heraclides admiral, and gave him a guard, as he had himself.

He thought, by the force of kind offices, to get the better of his rival's ill will; who, in his expressions and outward behaviour, made his court to Dion, confessed his obligations to him, and obeyed his orders with a promptitude and punctuality, which expressed an entire devotion to his service, and a desire of occasions to do him pleasure.

\* Προ τοῦ δήμου εἶναι, τὸ δημαγωγῆσθαι δελοῦντις.

But underhand, by his intrigues and cabals, he influenced the people against him, and opposed his designs in every thing. If Dion gave his consent that Dionysius should quit the citadel by treaty, he was accused of favouring and intending to save him: if, to satisfy them, he continued the siege, without hearkening to any proposals of accommodation, they did not fail to reproach him with the desire of protracting the war, for the sake of continuing in command, and to keep the citizens in awe and respect.

Philistus, who came to the tyrant's relief, with several galleys, having been defeated and put to death, Dionysius sent to offer Dion the citadel, with the arms and troops in it, and money to pay them for five months, if he might be permitted by a treaty to retire into Italy for the rest of his life, and be allowed the revenue of certain lands, which he mentioned in the neighbourhood of Syracuse. The Syracusans, who were in hopes of taking Dionysius alive, rejected those proposals; and Dionysius, despairing of reconciling them to his terms, left the citadel in the hands of his eldest son Apollocrates; and taking the advantage of a favourable wind, (t) embarked for Italy, with his treasures and effects of the greatest value, and such of his friends as were dearest to him.

Heraclides, who commanded the galleys, was very much blamed for having suffered him to escape by his negligence.

To regain the people's favour, he proposed a new distribution of lands, insinuating, that as liberty was founded in equality, so poverty was the principle of servitude. Upon Dion's opposing this motion, Heraclides persuaded the people to reduce the pay of the foreign troops, who amounted to three thousand men; to declare a new division of land; to appoint new generals; and deliver themselves in good time from Dion's insupportable severity. The Syracusans agreed, and nominated twenty-five new officers, Heraclides being one of the number. At the same time they sent privately to solicit the foreign soldiers to abandon Dion; and to join with them, promising to give them a share in the government as natives and citizens. Those

(t) A. M. 3644. Ant. J. C. 360.

generous troops received the offer with disdain ; and then placing Dion in the center of them, with a fidelity and affection of which there are few examples, they made their bodies and their arms a rampart for him, and carried him out of the city, without doing the least violence to any body, but warmly reproaching all they met with ingratitude and perfidy. The Syracusans, who contemned their small number, and attributed their moderation to fear, and want of courage, began to attack them ; not doubting but they should defeat and put them all to the sword, before they got out of the city.

Dion, reduced to the necessity of either fighting the citizens, or perishing with his troops, held out his hands to the Syracusans, imploring them, in the most tender and affectionate manner, to desist, and pointing to the citadel full of enemies, who saw all that passed with the utmost joy. But finding them deaf and insensible to all his remonstrances, he commanded his soldiers to march in close order without attacking ; which they obeyed, contenting themselves with making a great noise with their arms, and raising great cries, as if they were going to fall upon the Syracusans. The latter were dismayed with those appearances, and ran away in every street without being pursued. Dion hastened the march of his troops towards the country of the Leontines.

The officers of the Syracusans, laughed at and ridiculed by the women of the city, were desirous to retrieve their honour, and made their troops take arms, and return to the pursuit of Dion. They came up with him at the pass of a river, and made their horse advance to skirmish. But when they saw that Dion was resolved in earnest to repel their insults, and had made his troops face about with great indignation, they were again seized with terror ; and taking to their heels in a more shameful manner than before, made all the haste they could to regain the city.

(u) The Leontines received Dion with great marks of honour and esteem. They also made presents to his sol-

(u) Plut. p. 975---981.; Diod. l. xvi. p. 422, 423.



diers, and declared them free citizens. Some days after which, they sent ambassadors to demand justice for the ill treatment of those troops, to the Syracusans; who, on their side, sent deputies to complain of Dion. Syracuse was intoxicated with inconsiderate joy and insolent prosperity, which entirely banished reflection and judgment.

Every thing conspired to swell and inflame their pride. The citadel was so much reduced by famine, that the soldiers of Dionysius, after having suffered very much, resolved at last to surrender it. They sent in the night to make that proposal, and were to perform conditions the next morning. But at day-break, whilst they were preparing to execute the treaty, Nypsius, an able and valiant general, whom Dionysius had sent from Italy with corn and money to the besieged, appeared with his galleys, and anchored near Arethusa. Plenty succeeding on a sudden to famine, Nypsius landed his troops, and summoned an assembly, wherein he made a speech to the soldiers suitable to the present conjuncture, which determined them to hazard all dangers. The citadel, that was upon the point of surrendering, was relieved in this manner, contrary to all expectation.

The Syracusans at the same time hastened on board their galleys, and attacked the enemy's fleet. They sunk some of their ships, took others, and pursued the rest to the shore. But this very victory was the occasion of their ruin. Abandoned to their own discretion, without either leader or authority to command them, or counsel, the officers, as well as soldiers, gave themselves up to rejoicing, feasting, drinking, debauchery, and every kind of loose excess. Nypsius knew well how to take advantage of this general infatuation. He attacked the wall that inclosed the citadel, of which having made himself master, he demolished it in several places, and permitted his soldiers to enter and plunder the city. All things were in the utmost confusion. Here the citizens, half asleep, had their throats cut; their houses were plundered, whilst the women and children were driven off into the citadel, without regard to their tears, cries, and lamentations.

There was but one man who could remedy this misfortune, and preserve the city. This was in every body's thoughts, but no one had courage enough to propose it; so much ashamed were they of the ungenerous manner in which they had driven him out. As the danger increased every moment, and already approached the quarter of Achradina, in the height of their extremity and despair, a voice was heard from the horse and allies, which said *that it was absolutely necessary to recall Dion and the Peloponnesian troops from the country of the Leontines*. As soon as any body had courage enough to utter those words, they were the general cry of the Syracusans, who, with tears of joy and grief, made prayers to the gods, that they would bring him back to them. The hope alone of seeing him again, gave them new courage, and enabled them to make head against the enemy. The deputies set out immediately with full speed, and arrived at the city of Leontium late in the evening.

As soon as they alighted, they threw themselves at Dion's feet, bathed in their tears, and related the deplorable extremity to which the Syracusans were reduced. Some of the Leontines, and several of the Peloponnesian soldiers, who had seen them arrive, were already got round Dion, and conceived rightly, from their emotion and prostrate behaviour, that something very extraordinary had happened. Dion had no sooner heard what they had to say, than he carried them with him to the assembly, which formed itself immediately; for the people ran thither with abundance of eagerness. The two principal deputies explained in a few words the greatness of their distress, and *implored the foreign troops to hasten to the relief of the Syracusans, and to forget the ill treatment they had received; and the rather, because that unfortunate people had already paid a severer penalty for it, than the most injured amongst them would desire to impose*.

The deputies having finished their discourse, the whole theatre, where the assembly was held, continued sad and silent. Dion rose; but as soon as he began to speak, a torrent of tears suppressed his utterance. The foreign sol-

diers called out to him to take courage, and expressed a generous compassion of his grief. At length, having recovered himself a little, he spoke to them in these terms. "Men of Peloponnesus, and you our allies, I have assembled you here, that you may deliberate upon what regards yourselves: as for my part, I must not deliberate upon any thing when Syracuse is in danger. If I cannot preserve it, I go to perish with it, and to bury myself in its ruins. But for you, if you are resolved to assist us once more, us, who are the most imprudent and most unfortunate of mankind, come and relieve the city of Syracuse, from henceforth the work of your hands. If not, and the just subjects of complaint which you have against the Syracusans, determine you to abandon them in their present condition, and to suffer them to perish; may you receive from the immortal gods the reward you merit, for the affection and fidelity which you have hitherto expressed for me. For the rest, I have only to desire, that you will keep Dion in your remembrance, who did not abandon you when unworthily treated by his country, nor his country, when fallen into misfortunes."

He had no sooner ceased speaking, than the foreign soldiers rose up with loud cries, and intreated him to lead them on that moment to the relief of Syracuse. The deputies transported with joy, saluted and embraced them, praying the gods to bestow upon Dion and them all kind of happiness and prosperity. When the tumult was appeased, Dion ordered them to prepare for the march, and, as soon as they had supped, to return with their arms to the same place; being determined to set out the same night, and fly to the relief of his country.

In the mean time, at Syracuse, the officers of Dionysius, after having done all the mischief they could to the city, retired at night into the citadel with the loss of some of their soldiers. This short respite gave the seditious orators new courage, who, flattering themselves that the enemy would lie still after what they had done, exhorted the Syracusans to think no farther of Dion, not to receive him if he came to their relief with his foreign troops, nor to

yield to them in courage, but to defend their city and liberty with their own arms and valour. New deputies were instantly dispatched from the general officers to prevent his coming, and from the principal citizens and his friends, to desire him to hasten his march; which difference of sentiments, and contrariety of advices, occasioned his marching slowly, and by small journeys.

When the night was far spent, Dion's enemies seized the gates of the city, to prevent his entrance. At the same instant, Nypsius, well apprised of all that passed at Syracuse, made a sally from the citadel with a greater body of troops, and more determinate than before. They demolished the wall that enclosed them entirely, and entered the city, which they plundered. Nothing but slaughter and blood was seen every where. Nor did they stop for the pillage, but seemed to have no other view, than to ruin and destroy all before them. One would have thought, the son of Dionysius, whom his father had left in the citadel, being reduced to despair, and prompted by an excess of hatred for the Syracusans, was determined to bury the tyranny in the ruins of the city. To prevent Dion's relief of it, they had recourse to fire, the swiftest of destructions, burning with torches and lighted straw all places within their power, and darting combustibles against the rest. The Syracusans, who fled to avoid the flames, were butchered in the streets; and those who, to shun the all-murdering sword, retired into the houses, were driven out of them again by the incroaching fire; for there were abundance of houses burning, and many that fell upon the people in the streets.

These very flames opened the city for Dion, by obliging the citizens to agree in not keeping the gates shut against him. Couriers after couriers were dispatched to hasten his march. Heraclides himself, his most declared and mortal enemy, deputed his brother, and afterwards his uncle Theodotus, to conjure him to advance with the utmost speed, there being no body besides himself to make head against the enemy, he being wounded, and the city almost entirely ruined and reduced to ashes.



Dion received this news when he was about sixty \* stadia from the gates. His soldiers upon that occasion marched with the utmost diligence, and with so good a will, that it was not long before he arrived at the walls of the city. He there detached his light-armed troops against the enemy, to re-animate the Syracusans by the sight of them. He then drew up his heavy-armed infantry, and the citizens, who came running to join him on all sides. He divided them into small parties, of greater depth than front, and put different officers at the head of them, that they might be capable of attacking in several places at once, and appear stronger and more formidable to the enemy.

After having made these dispositions, and prayed to the gods, he marched across the city against the enemy. In every street as he passed, he was welcomed with acclamations, cries of joy, and songs of victory, mingled with the prayers and blessings of all the Syracusans; who called Dion their preserver and their god, and his soldiers their brothers and fellow-citizens. At that instant, there was not a single man in the city, so fond of life, as not to be much more in pain for Dion's safety than his own, and not to fear much more for him, than for all the rest together, seeing him march foremost to so great a danger over blood, fire, and dead bodies, with which the streets and public places were universally covered. On the other hand, the view of the enemy was no less terrible: for they were animated by rage and despair, and were posted in line of battle behind the ruins of the wall they had thrown down, which made the approach very difficult and dangerous. They were under the necessity of defending the citadel, which was their safety and retreat, and durst not remove from it, lest their communication should be cut off. But what was most capable of disordering and discouraging Dion's soldiers, and made their march very painful and difficult, was the fire. For where-ever they turned themselves, they marched by the light of the houses in flames, and were obliged to go over ruins in the midst of fires; exposing themselves to being crushed in pieces by the fall

\* Two or three leagues.

of walls, beams, and roofs of houses, which tottered half consumed by the flames, and under the necessity of keeping their ranks, whilst they opened their way through frightful clouds of smoke, mingled with dust.

When they had joined the enemy, only a very small number on each side were capable of coming to blows, from the want of room, and the unevenness of the ground. But at length Dion's soldiers, encouraged and supported by the cries and ardor of the Syracusans, charged the enemy with such redoubled vigor, that the troops of Nypsius gave way. The greatest part of them escaped into the citadel, which was very near; and those who remained without, being broke, were cut to pieces in the pursuit by the foreign troops.

The time would not admit their making immediate rejoicings for their victory, in the manner so great an exploit deserved; the Syracusans being obliged to apply to the preservation of their houses, and to pass the whole night in extinguishing the fire; which however they did not effect without great difficulty.

At the return of day, none of the seditious orators durst stay in the city, but all fled self-condemned to avoid the punishment due to their crimes. Only Heraclides and Theodotus came to Dion, and put themselves into his hands, confessing their injurious treatment of him, and conjuring him not to imitate their ill conduct: that it became Dion, superior as he was in all other respects to the rest of mankind, to shew himself as much so in that greatness of soul, which could conquer resentment and revenge, and to forgive the ungrateful, who owned themselves unworthy of his pardon.

Heraclides and Theodotus having made these supplications, Dion's friends advised him not to spare men of their vile and malignant disposition; but to abandon Heraclides to the soldiers, and, in so doing, exterminate from the state that spirit of sedition and intrigue; a distemper that has really something of madness in it, and is no less to be feared from its pernicious consequences, than tyranny itself. But Dion, to appease them, said, "That other

captains generally made the means of conquering their enemies their sole application ; that, for his part, he had passed much time in the academy, in learning to subdue anger, envy, and all the jarring passions of the mind : that the sign of having conquered them is not kindness and affability to friends and persons of merit ; but treating those with humanity who have injured us, and in being always ready to forgive them : that he did not desire so much to appear superior to Heraclides in power and ability, as in wisdom and justice, for in that, true and essential superiority consists. That if Heraclides be wicked, invidious, and perfidious, must Dion contaminate and dishonour himself with low resentment ? It is true, according to human laws, there seems to be less injustice in revenging an injury, than committing it ; but if we consult nature, we shall find both the one and the other to have their rise in the same weakness of mind. Besides, there is no disposition so obdurate and savage, but may be vanquished by the force of kindness and obligations." Dion upon these maxims pardoned Heraclides.

His next application was to inclose the citadel with a new work, and he ordered each of the Syracusans to go out and cut a large stake. In the night, he set his soldiers to work, whilst the Syracusans took their rest. He surrounded the citadel in this manner with a strong palisade, before it was perceived ; so that, in the morning, the greatness of the work, and the suddenness of the execution, were matter of admiration for all the world, as well the enemy, as the citizens.

Having finished this palisade, he buried the dead ; and dismissing the prisoners taken from the enemy, he summoned an assembly. Heraclides proposed in it, that Dion should be elected generalissimo, with supreme authority both by sea and land. All the people of worth, and the most considerable of the citizens, were pleased with the proposal, and desired it might have the authority of the assembly. But the mariners and artizans who were sorry that Heraclides should lose the office of admiral ; and convinced, that though he were little estimable in all other re-

spects, he would at least be more for the people than Dion; they opposed it with all their power. Dion, to avoid disturbance and confusion, did not insist upon that point, and acquiesced that Heraclides should continue to command in chief at sea. But his opposing the distribution of lands and houses, which they were earnest for having take place, and his cancelling and annulling whatever had been decreed upon that head, imbroiled him with them irretrievably.

Heraclides, taking advantage of a disposition so favourable to his views, did not fail to revive his cabals and intrigues; as appeared openly by an attempt of his to make himself master of Syracuse; and to shut the gates upon his rival: but it proved unsuccessful. A Spartan, who had been sent to the aid of Syracuse, negotiated a new accommodation between Heraclides and Dion, under the strictest oaths, and the strongest assurances of obedience on the side of the former; weak ties to a man void of faith and probity.

The Syracusans having dismissed their sea-forces, who were become unnecessary, applied solely to the siege of the citadel, and rebuilt the wall which had been thrown down. As no relief came to the besieged, and bread began to fall short with them, the soldiers grew mutinous, and would observe no discipline. The son of Dionysius, finding himself without hope or resource, capitulated with Dion to surrender the citadel, with all the arms and munitions of war. He carried his mother and sisters away with him, filled five galleys with his people and effects, and went to his father; for Dion gave him entire liberty to retire unmolested. It is easy to conceive the joy of the city upon his departure. Women, children, old people, all were passionately fond of gratifying their eyes from the port with so agreeable a spectacle, and to solemnize the joyful day, on which, after so many years servitude, the sun arose for the first time upon the Syracusan liberty.

Apollocrates having set sail, and Dion begun his march to enter the citadel, the princesses who were there, did not stay till he arrived, but came out to meet him at the gates. Aristomache led the son of Dion; after whom came



Arete, his wife, with her eyes fixed upon the ground, and full of tears. Dion embraced his sister first, and afterwards his son. Aristomache, then presenting Arete to him, spoke thus: *The tears you see her shed, the shame expressed in her looks, at the time your presence restores us life and joy, her silence itself, and her confusion, sufficiently denotes the grief she suffers at the sight of an husband, to whom another has been substituted contrary to her will, but who alone has always possessed her heart. Shall she salute you as her uncle? shall she embrace you as her husband?* Aristomache having spoke in this manner, Dion with his face bathed in tears, tenderly embraced his wife; to whom he gave his son, and sent them home to his house; because he thought proper to leave the citadel to the discretion of the Syracusans, as an evidence of their liberty.

For himself, after having rewarded with a magnificence truly royal all those who had contributed to his success, according to their rank and merit, at the height of glory and happiness, and the object, not only of Sicily, but of Carthage and all Greece, who esteemed him the wisest and most fortunate captain that ever lived, he constantly retained his original simplicity; as modest and plain in his garb, equipage, and table, as if he had lived in the academy with Plato, and not with people bred in armies, with officers and soldiers, who often breathe nothing but pleasures and magnificence. Accordingly, at the time Plato wrote him, *that the eyes of all mankind were upon him alone*; little affected with that general admiration, his thoughts were always intent upon the academy, that school of wisdom and virtue, where exploits and successes were not judged from the external splendor and noise with which they are attended, but from the wise and moderate use of them.

Dion designed to establish a form of government in Syracuse, composed of the Spartan and Cretan, but wherein the aristocratical was always to prevail, and to decide important affairs by the authority, which, according to his plan, was to be vested in a council of elders. Heraclides

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again opposed him in this scheme, still turbulent and seditious according to custom, and solely intent upon gaining the people by flattery, careffes, and other popular arts. One day, when Dion sent for him to the council, he answered, that he would not come; and that, being only a private person, he should be in the assembly with the rest of the citizens, whenever it was summoned. His view, in such behaviour, was to make his court to the people, and to render Dion odious; who, weary of his repeated insults, permitted those to kill him, he had formerly prevented. They accordingly went to his house and dispatched him. We shall see presently Dion's own sense of this action.

The Syracusans were highly afflicted for his death: but as Dion solemnized his funeral with great magnificence, followed his body in person, at the head of his whole army, and afterwards harangued the people upon the occasion, they were appeased, and forgave him the murder; convinced, that it was impossible for the city ever to be free from commotions and sedition, whilst Heraclides and Dion governed together.

(x) After that murder Dion never knew joy, or peace of mind. An hideous spectre, which he saw in the night, filled him with trouble, terror, and melancholy. The phantom seemed a woman of enormous stature, who, in her attire, air, and haggard looks, resembled a fury sweeping his house with violence. His son's death, who, for some unknown grief, had thrown himself from the roof of an house, passed for the accomplishment of that ominous apparition, and was the prelude to his misfortunes. Callippus gave the last hand to them. He was an Athenian, with whom Dion had contracted an intimate friendship, whilst he lodged in his house at Athens, and with whom he lived ever after with entire freedom, and unbounded confidence. Callippus having given himself up to his ambitious views, and entertained thoughts of making himself master of Syracuse, threw off all regard for the sacred ties of friendship and hospitality, and contrived to get rid of Dion, who

was the sole obstacle of his designs. Notwithstanding his care to conceal them, they got air, and came to the ear of Dion's sister and wife, who lost no time, and spared no pains to discover the truth by a very strict inquiry. To prevent its effects, he went to them with tears in his eyes, and the appearance of being inconsolable that any body should suspect him of such a crime, or think him capable of so black a design. They insisted upon his taking the *great oath*, as it was called. The person who swore it, was wrapt in the purple mantle of the goddess Proserpine, and holding a lighted torch in his hand, pronounced in the temple the most dreadful execrations against himself it is possible to imagine.

The oath cost him nothing, but did not convince the princesses. They daily received new intimations of his guilt from several hands; as did Dion himself, whose friends in general persuaded him to prevent Callippus's crime by a just and sudden punishment. But he could never resolve upon it. The death of Heraclides, which he looked upon as an horrible blot in his reputation and virtue, was perpetually present to his troubled imagination, and renewed by continual terrors his grief and repentance. Tormented night and day by that cruel remembrance, he professed that he had rather die a thousand deaths, and present his throat himself to whoever would kill him, than to live under the necessity of continual precaution, not only against his enemies, but the best of his friends.

Callippus ill deserved that name. He hastened the execution of his crime, and caused Dion to be assassinated in his own house by the Zacynthian soldiers, who were entirely devoted to his interest. The sister and wife of that prince were put into prison, where the latter was delivered of a son, which she resolved to nurse there herself.

(y) After this murder, Callippus was for some time in a splendid condition, having made himself master of Syracuse, by the means of the troops, who were entirely devoted to his service in effect of the gifts he bestowed up-

on them. The Pagans believed, that the Divinity ought to punish great crimes in a sudden and extraordinary manner in this life. And Plutarch observes, that the success of Callippus occasioned very great complaints against the gods, as suffering calmly, and without indignation, the vilest of men to raise himself to so exalted a fortune, by so detestable and impious a method. But providence was not long without justifying itself; for Callippus soon suffered the punishment of his guilt. Having marched with his troops to take Catanea, Syracuse revolted against him, and threw off so shameful a subjection. He afterwards attacked Messina, where he lost abundance of men, and particularly the Zacynthian soldiers, who had murdered Dion. No city of Sicily would receive him; but all detesting him as the most execrable of wretches, he retired to Rhegium; where, after having led for some time a miserable life, he was killed by Liptinus and Polyperchon, and it was said, with the same dagger with which Dion had been assassinated.

History has few examples of so distinct an attention of providence to punish great crimes, such as murder, perfidy, treason, either in the authors of those crimes themselves, who commanded or executed them, or in the accomplices any way concerned in them. The divine justice evidences itself from time to time in this manner, to prove that it is not unconcerned and inattentive; and to prevent the inundation of crimes which an entire impunity would occasion: but it does not always distinguish itself by remarkable chastisements in this world, to intimate to mankind, that greater punishments are reserved for guilt in the next.

As for Aristomache and Arete, as soon as they came out of prison, Icetes of Syracuse, one of Dion's friends, received them into his house, and treated them at first with an attention, fidelity, and generosity of the most exemplary kind, had he persevered. But complying at last with Dion's enemies, he provided a bark for them; and having put them on board, under the pretence of sending them to Peloponnesus, he gave orders to those who were to carry them, to kill them in the passage, and throw them into the



fea. He was not long without receiving the chastisement due to his black treachery; for being taken by Timoleon, he was put to death. The Syracusans, fully to avenge Dion, killed also the two sons of that traitor.

(z) The relations and friends of Dion, soon after his death, had wrote to Plato, to consult him upon the manner in which they should behave in the present troubled and fluctuating condition of Syracuse, and to know what sort of government it was proper to establish there. Plato, who knew the Syracusans were equally incapable of entire liberty or absolute servitude, exhorted them strenuously to pacify all things as soon as possible; and for that purpose, to change the tyranny, of which the very name was odious, into a lawful sovereignty, which would make subjection easy and agreeable. He advised them, (and, according to him, it had been Dion's opinion), to create three kings; one to be Hipparinus, Dion's son; another, Hipparinus, Dionysius the younger's brother, who seemed to be well inclined towards the people; and Dionysius himself, if he would comply with such conditions as should be prescribed him: their authority to be not unlike that of the kings of Sparta. By the same scheme, thirty-five magistrates were to be appointed, to take care that the laws should be duly observed, to have great authority both in times of war and peace, and to serve as a balance between the power of the kings, the senate, and the people.

It does not appear, that this advice was ever followed, which indeed had its great inconveniences. (a) It is only known, that Hipparinus, Dionysius's brother, having landed at Syracuse with a fleet, and considerable forces, expelled Callippus, and exercised the sovereign power two years.

The history of Sicily, as related thus far, includes about sixty years, beginning with Dionysius the elder, who reigned thirty-eight of them, and continuing to the death of Dion. I shall return in the sequel to the affairs of Sicily, and shall relate the end of Dionysius the younger, and the re-establishment of the Syracusan liberty by Timoleon.

(z) Plat. ep. 8.

(a) Diod. l. xvi. 436.

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SECT. IV. *Character of Dion.*

IT is not easy to find so many excellent qualities in one and the same person as were united in Dion. I do not consider in this place, his wonderful taste for the sciences, his art of associating them with the greatest employments of war and peace, for extracting from them the rules of conduct, and maxims of government, and of making them an equally useful and honourable entertainment, of his leisure. I confine myself to the statesman and patriot; and, in this view, how admirably does he appear! Greatness of soul, elevation of sentiments, generosity in bestowing his wealth, heroic valour in battle, attended with a coolness of temper, and a prudence scarce to be paralleled, a mind vast and capable of the highest views, a constancy not to be shaken by the greatest dangers, or the most unexpected revolutions of fortune, the love of his country and of the public good carried almost to excess. These are part of Dion's virtues. The design he formed of delivering his country from the yoke of the tyranny, and his boldness and wisdom in the execution of it, explain of what he was capable.

But what I conceive the greatest beauty in Dion's character, the most worthy of admiration, and, if I may say so, the most above human nature, is the greatness of soul, and unexampled patience, with which he suffered the ingratitude of his country. He had abandoned and sacrificed every thing to come to their relief; he had reduced the tyranny to extremities, and was upon the point of re-establishing them in the full possession of their liberty: In return for such great services, they shamefully expelled him the city, accompanied with an handful of foreign soldiers, whose fidelity they had not been able to corrupt; they load him with injuries, and add to their base perfidy, the most cruel outrages and indignity: To punish those ungrateful traitors, he had only a signal to give, and to leave the rest to the indignation of his soldiers: Master of theirs, as well as his own temper, he stops their impetuosity; and without disarming their hands, restrains their just rage; suffering

them, in the very height and ardor of an attack, only to terrify and not kill his enemies, because he could not forget that they were his fellow-citizens and brethren.

There seems to be only one defect that can be objected to Dion; which is, his having something rigid and austere in his humour, that made him less accessible and sociable than he should have been, and kept even persons of worth, and his best friends, at a kind of distance. Plato, and those who had his glory sincerely at heart, had often animadverted upon this turn of mind in him: but notwithstanding the reproaches which were made him upon his too austere gravity, and the inflexible severity with which he treated the people, he still piqued himself upon abating nothing of them. Whether his genius was entirely averse to the arts of insinuation and persuasion, or that, from the view of correcting and reforming the Syracusans, vitiated and corrupted by the flattering and complaisant discourses of their orators, he chose that rough and manly manner of behaving to them.

Dion was mistaken in the most essential point of governing. From the throne to the lowest office in the state, whoever is charged with the care of ruling and conducting others, ought particularly to study the \* art of managing mens tempers, and of giving them that bent and turn of mind that may best suit his measures; which cannot be done by assuming the severe master, by commanding haughtily, and contenting one's self with laying down the rule and the duty with inflexible rigor. There is in the right itself, in virtue, and the exercise of all functions, an exactitude and steadiness, or rather a kind of stiffness, which frequently degenerates into a vice, when carried into extremes. I know it is never allowable to break through rules; but it is always laudable, and often necessary, to soften and make them more convertible; which is best effected by a kindness of manners, and an insinuating behaviour, not always exacting the discharge of a duty in its utmost rigor; over-

\* Which art an antient poet called *flexanima*, atque omnium regina rerum oratio. Cic. l. i. de Divin. n. 80.

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looking abundance of small faults, that do not merit much notice; and observing upon those which are more considerable, with favour and goodness: in a word, in endeavouring, by all possible means to acquire people's affection, and to render virtue and duty amiable.

Dion's permission to kill Heraclides, which was obtained with difficulty, or rather forced from him, contrary to his natural disposition as well as principles, cost him dear, and brought the trouble and anguish upon him that lasted till the day of his death, and of which they were the principal cause.

SECT. V. *Dionysius the younger reascends the throne, Syracuse implores aid of the Corinthians, who send Timoleon. That general enters Syracuse, notwithstanding all the endeavours of Nicetas to prevent him. Dionysius surrenders himself to him, and retires to Corinth.*

(a) **C**ALIPPUS, who had caused Dion to be murdered, and had substituted himself in his place, did not possess his power long. Thirteen months after, Hipparinus, Dionysius's brother, arriving unexpectedly at Syracuse with a numerous fleet, expelled him from the city, and recovered his paternal sovereignty, which he held during two years.

(b) Syracuse and all Sicily being harassed by different factions and intestine war, were in a miserable condition. Dionysius taking the advantage of those troubles, ten years after he had been obliged to quit the throne, had assembled some foreign troops, and having overcome Nysæus, who had made himself master of Syracuse, he reinstated himself in the possession of his dominions.

(c) It was perhaps to thank the gods for his re-establishment, and to express his gratitude to them, that he sent statues of gold and ivory to Olympia and Delphos, of very great value. The galleys which carried them were taken

(a) A. M. 3647. Ant. J. C. 357. Diod. l. xvi. p. 432---436.

(b) A. M. 3654. Ant. J. C. 350. (c) Diod. l. xvi. p. 455.



by Iphicrates, who was at that time near (d) Corcyra with a fleet. He wrote to Athens, to know in what manner he should dispose of this sacred booty; and was answered, not to examine scrupulously for what it was designed, but to make use of it for the subsistence of his troops. Dionysius complained excessively of such treatment to the Athenians, in a letter which he wrote them; wherein he reproached, with great warmth and justice, their avarice and sacrilegious impiety.

(e) A commander of pirates had acted much more nobly, and more religiously, in regard to the Romans about fifty years before. After the taking of Veii, which had been ten years besieged, they sent a golden cup to Delphos. The deputies who carried that present were taken by the pirates of Lipara, and carried to that island. It was the \* custom to divide all the prizes they took as a common stock. The island at that time was under the government of a magistrate more like the Romans in his manners than those he governed. He was called *Timasitheus* †, and his behaviour agreed well with the signification of his name. Full of regard for the envoys, the sacred gifts they carried, the motive of their offering, and more for the majesty of the god for whom it was designed, he inspired the multitude, that generally follow the example of those who rule them, with the same sentiments of respect and religion. The envoys were received therefore with all the marks of distinction, and their expences borne by the public. Timasitheus convoyed them with a good squadron to Delphos, and brought them back in the same manner to Rome. It is easy to judge how sensibly

(d) Corfu.

(e) Tit. Liv. decad. 1. l. v. c. 28.; Diod. l. xiv. p. 307.

\* Mos erat civitatis, velut publico latrocinio partam prædam dividere. Forte eo anno in summo magistratu erat Timasithens quidam Romanis vir similior quam suis: qui legatorum nomen, donumque, et deum cui mitteretur, et doni causam veritus ipse, multitudinem quoque, quæ semper ferme regenti est similis, religionis justæ implevit; adductosque in publicum hospitium legatos, cum præsidio etiam navium Delphos profectus, Romam inde sospites restituit. Hospitium cum eo senatus consulto est factum, donaque publice data. Tit. Liv.

† Timasitheus signifies one who honours the gods,

the Romans were affected with so noble a proceeding. By a decree of the senate they rewarded Timasitheus with great presents, and granted him the right of hospitality. And fifty years after, when the Romans took Lipara from the Carthaginians, with the same gratitude as if the action had been but lately done, they thought themselves obliged to do further honour to the family of their benefactor, and resolved that all his descendents should be for ever exempted from the tribute imposed upon the other inhabitants of that island.

This was certainly great and noble on both sides : but the contrast does no honour to the Athenians.

To return to Dionysius : Though he expressed some regard for the gods, his actions argued no humanity for his subjects. His past misfortunes, instead of correcting and softening his disposition, had only served to inflame it, and to render him more savage and brutal than before.

(f) The most worthy and considerable of the citizens, not being able to support so cruel a servitude, had recourse to Icetas, King of the Leontines, and abandoning themselves to his conduct, elected him their general ; not that they believed he differed in any thing from the most declared tyrants, but because they had no other resource.

During these transactions, the Carthaginians, who were almost always at war with the Syracusans, arrived in Sicily with a great fleet ; and having made a great progress there, the Sicilians, and the people of Syracuse, resolved to send an embassy into Greece, to demand aid of the Corinthians, from whom the Syracusans were descended, and who had always openly declared against tyrants in favour of liberty. Icetas, who proposed no other end from his command than to make himself master of Syracuse, and had thoughts of setting it free, treated secretly with the Carthaginians, though in public he affected to praise the wise measures of the Syracusans, and even sent his deputies along with theirs.

(g) Corinth received the ambassadors perfectly well, and

(f) Diod. l. xvi. p. 459. & 464. ; Plut. in Timol. p. 236. & 243. (g) A. M. 3655. Ant. J. C. 349.

immediately appointed Timoleon their general. He had led a retired life for twenty years, without interfering in public affairs, and was far from believing, that, at his age, and in the circumstances he then was, he should be thought on upon such an occasion.

He was descended from one of the noblest families of Corinth, loved his country passionately, and discovered, upon all occasions, a singular humanity of temper, except against tyrants and bad men. He was an excellent captain; and as in his youth he had all the maturity of age, in age he had all the fire and courage of the most ardent youth.

He had an elder brother, called *Timophanes*, whom he tenderly loved, as he had demonstrated in a battle, in which he covered him with his body, and saved his life at the great danger of his own; but his country was still dearer to him. That brother having made himself tyrant of it, so black a crime gave him the sharpest affliction. He made use of all possible means to bring him back to his duty; kindness, friendship, affection, remonstrances, and even menaces. But finding all his endeavours ineffectual, and that nothing could prevail upon an heart abandoned to ambition, he caused his brother to be assassinated in his presence by two of his friends and intimates; and thought, that, upon such an occasion, the laws of nature ought to give place to those of his country.

That action was admired and applauded by the principal citizens of Corinth, and by most of the philosophers, who looked upon it as the most noble effort of human virtue; and Plutarch seems to pass the same judgment upon it. All the world were not of that opinion; and some people reproached him as an abominable parricide, who could not fail of drawing down the vengeance of the gods upon him. His mother especially, in the excess of her grief, uttered the most dreadful curses and imprecations against him; and when he came to console her, not being able to bear the sight of her son's murderer, she thrust him away with indignation, and shut her doors against him.

He was then struck with all the horror of the most guilty,

and giving himself up to the cruellest remorse, considered Timophanes no longer as a tyrant, but as a brother, and resolved to put an end to his life, by abstaining from all nourishment. It was with great difficulty his friends dissuaded him from that fatal resolution. Overcome by their prayers and instances, he was at length prevailed upon to live; but he condemned himself to pass the rest of his days in solitude. From that moment he renounced all public affairs; and for several years never came to the city, but wandered about in the most solitary and desert places, abandoned to excess of grief and melancholy: so true it is, that neither the praises of flatterers, nor the false reasonings of politicians, can suppress the cries of conscience, which is at once the witness, judge, and executioner of those who presume to violate the most sacred rights and ties of nature.

He passed twenty years in this condition. He did indeed return to Corinth at the latter part of that time, but lived there always private and retired, without concerning himself with the administration of the government. It was not without great repugnance that he accepted the employment of general; but he did not think it allowable to refuse the service of his country, and his duty prevailed against his inclination.

Whilst Timoleon assembled his troops, and was preparing to sail, the Corinthians received letters from Icetas, in which he told them, "That it was not necessary for them to make any farther levies, or to exhaust themselves in great expences to come to Sicily, and expose themselves to evident danger; that the Carthaginians, apprised of their design, were waiting to intercept their Squadron in its passage with a great fleet; and that their slowness in sending their troops had obliged him to call in the Carthaginians themselves to his aid, and to make use of them against the tyrant." He had made a secret treaty with them, by which it was stipulated, that, after the expulsion of Dionysius from Syracuse, he should take possession of it in his place.

The reading of these letters, far from cooling the zeal



of the Corinthians, only incensed them more than at first, and hastened the departure of Timoleon. He embarked on board ten galleys, and arrived safe upon the coast of Italy, where the news that came from Sicily extremely perplexed him, and discouraged his troops. It brought an account, that Icetas had defeated Dionysius, and having made himself master of the greatest part of Syracuse, had obliged the tyrant to shut himself up in the citadel, and in that quarter called *the Isle*, where he besieged him; and that he had given orders to the Carthaginians to prevent Timoleon's approach, and to come on shore, that they might make a peaceable partition of Sicily between them, when they should have reduced that general to retire.

The Carthaginians in consequence had sent twenty galleys to Rhegium. The Corinthians, upon their arrival at that port, found ambassadors from Icetas, who declared to Timoleon, that he might come to Syracuse, and would be well received there, provided he dismissed his troops. The proposal was entirely injurious, and at the same time more perplexing. It seemed impossible to beat the vessels, which the barbarians had caused to advance to intercept them in their passage, being twice their force; and to retire, was to abandon all Sicily to extreme distress, which could not avoid being the reward of Icetas's treachery, and of the support which the Carthaginians should give the tyranny.

In this delicate conjuncture, Timoleon demanded a conference with the ambassadors, and the principal officers of the Carthaginian squadron, in the presence of the people of Rhegium. It was only, he said, to discharge himself, and for his own security, that his country might not accuse him of having disobeyed its orders, and betraying his interests. The governor and magistrates of Rhegium were of intelligence with him. They desired nothing more than to see the Corinthians in possession of Sicily, and apprehended nothing so much as the neighbourhood of the barbarians. They summoned therefore an assembly, and shut the gates of the city, upon pretence of preventing the

citizens from going abroad, in order to their applying themselves solely to the present affair.

The people being assembled, long speeches were made of little or no tendency, every body treating the same subject, and repeating the same reasons, or adding new ones, only to protract the council, and to gain time. Whilst this was doing, nine of the Corinthian galleys went off, and were suffered to pass by the Carthaginian vessels, believing that their departure had been concerted with their own officers, who were in the city; and that those nine galleys were to return to Corinth, the tenth remaining to carry Timoleon to Ictas's army at Syracuse. When Timoleon was informed in a whisper, that his galleys were at sea, he slipped gently through the croud, which, to favour his going off, thronged exceedingly around the tribunal. He got to the sea-side, embarked directly, and having rejoined his galleys, they arrived together at Tauromenium, a city of Sicily; where they were received with open arms by Andromachus, who commanded it, and who joined the citizens with the Corinthian troops, to reinstate the Sicilian liberties. It is easy to comprehend how much the Carthaginians were surprised and ashamed of being so deceived: but, as some body told them, being Phoenicians, (who passed for the greatest cheats in the world), fraud and artifice ought not to give them so much astonishment and displeasure.

Upon the news of Timoleon's arrival, Ictas was terrified, and made the greatest part of the Carthaginian galleys advance. They had an hundred and fifty long ships, fifty thousand foot, and three hundred armed chariots. The Syracusans lost all hope when they saw the Carthaginians in possession of the port, Ictas master of the city, Dionysius blocked up in the citadel, and Timoleon without any other hold in Sicily than by a nook of its coast, the small city of Tauromenium, with little hope and less force; for his troops did not amount in all to more than a thousand soldiers, and he had scarce provisions for their subsistence. Besides which the cities placed no confidence in him. The ills they had suffered from the extortion

and cruelty that had been practised amongst them, had exasperated them against all commanders of troops, especially after the horrid treachery of Callippus and Pharax; who being both sent, the one from Athens, and the other from Sparta, to free Sicily and expel the tyrants, made them conceive the tyranny gentle and desirable, so severe were the vexations with which they had oppressed them. They were afraid of experiencing the same treatment from Timoleon.

The inhabitants of Adranon, a small city below mount *Ætna*, being divided amongst themselves, one party had called in *Icetas* and the Carthaginians, and the other had applied to Timoleon. The two chiefs arrived almost at the same time in the neighbourhood of Adranon; the former with five thousand men, and the latter with only twelve hundred. Notwithstanding this inequality, Timoleon, who justly conceived that he should find the Carthaginians in disorder, and employed in taking up their quarters, and pitching their tents, made his troops advance, and, without losing time to rest them, as the officers advised him, he marched directly to charge the enemy; who no sooner saw him, than they took to their heels. This occasioned their killing only three hundred, and taking twice as many prisoners; but the Carthaginians lost their camp, and all their baggage. The Adranites opened their gates at the same time, and received Timoleon. Other cities sent their deputies to him soon after, and made their submission.

Dionysius himself, who renounced his vain hopes, and saw himself at the point of being reduced, as full of contempt for *Icetas*, who had suffered himself to be so shamefully defeated, as of admiration and esteem for Timoleon, sent ambassadors to the latter, to treat of surrendering himself and the citadel to the Corinthians. Timoleon, taking the advantage of so unexpected a good fortune, made *Euchid* and *Telemachus*, with four hundred soldiers, file off into the castle; not all at once, nor in the day-time; that being impossible, the Carthaginians being masters of the gate, but in platoons, and by stealth. Those troops, having got successfully into the citadel, took possession of it

## of DIONYSIUS the Younger. 223

with all the tyrant's moveables, and provisions of war. For he had a considerable number of horse, all sorts of engines and darts, besides seventy thousand suits of armour, which had been laid up there long before. Dionysius had also two thousand regular troops, which with the rest he surrendered to Timoleon. And for himself, taking with him his money, and some few of his friends, he embarked unperceived by the troops of Ictas, and repaired to the camp of Timoleon.

It was the first time of his life that he had appeared in the low and abject state of a private person, and a suppliant; he who had been born and nurtured in the arms of the tyranny, and had seen himself master of the most powerful kingdom that had ever been usurped by tyrants. He had possessed it ten years entire, before Dion took arms against him, and some years after, though always in the midst of wars and battles. (h) He was sent to Corinth with only one galley without convoy, and with very little money. He served there for a sight, every body running to gaze at him; some with a secret joy of heart to feed their eyes with the view of the miseries of a man, whom the name of tyrant rendered odious; others with a kind of compassion, from comparing the splendid condition, from which he had fallen, with the inextricable abyfs of distress into which they beheld him plunged.

His manner of life at Corinth did not long excite any sentiments in regard to him, but those of contempt and indignation. He passed whole days in perfumers shops, in taverns, or with actresses and singers, disputing with them upon the rules of music, and the harmony of airs. Some people have thought, that he behaved in such a manner out of policy, not to give umbrage to the Corinthians, nor to discover any thought or desire of recovering his dominions. But such an opinion does him too much honour; and it seems more probable, that nurtured and educated as he was in drunkenness and debauchery, he only followed his inclination, and that he passed his life in a kind of slavery

(h) A. M. 3657. Ant. J. C. 347.



into which he was fallen as he had done upon the throne, having no other resource or consolation in his misfortunes.

(h) Some writers say, that the extreme poverty to which he was reduced at Corinth, obliged him to open a school there, and to teach children to read; perhaps, says \* Cicero, without doubt jestingly, to retain a species of empire, and not absolutely to renounce the habit and pleasure of commanding. (k) Whether that were his motive or not, it is certain, that Dionysius, who had seen himself master of Syracuse, and of almost all Sicily, who had possessed immense riches, and had numerous fleets and great armies of horse and foot under his command; that the same † Dionysius reduced now almost to beggary, and from a king become a schoolmaster, was a good lesson for persons of exalted stations not to confide in their grandeur, nor to rely too much upon their fortune. The Lacedaemonians some time after gave Philip this admonition. (l) That prince, having wrote to them in very haughty and menacing terms, they made him no other answer, but *Dionysius at Corinth*.

An expression of Dionysius, which has been preserved, seems to argue, if it be true, that he knew how to make a good use of his adversity, and to turn his misfortunes to his advantage; which would be very much to his praise, but contrary to what has been related of him before. (m) Whilst he lived at Corinth, a stranger rallied him unseasonably, and with an indecent grossness, upon his commerce with the philosophers during his most splendid fortune, and asked him by way of insult, Of what consequence all the wisdom of Plato had been to him? *Can you believe then,* replied he, *that I have received no benefit from Plato, and see me bear ill fortune as I do?*

(i) Cic. Tusc. Quaest. l. iii. n. 27. (k) Val. Max. l. vi. c. 9.

(l) Demet. Phaler. de eloc. l. viii. (m) Plut. in Timol. p. 243.

\* Dionysius Corinthi pueros docebat, usque adeo imperio carere non poterat.

† Tanta mutatione majores natu, nequis nimis fortunae crederet, magister ludi factus ex tyranno docuit.

SECT. VI. *Timoleon, after several victories, restores liberty to Syracuse, where he institutes wise laws. He quits his authority, and passes the rest of his life in retirement. His death. Honours paid to his memory.*

(n) **A**FTER the retreat of Dionysius, Ictetas pressed the siege of the citadel of Syracuse with the utmost vigor, and kept it so closely blocked up, that the convoys sent to the Corinthians could not enter it without great difficulty. Timoleon, who was at Catana, sent them frequently thither. To deprive them of this relief, Ictetas and Mago set out together with design to besiege that place. During their absence, Leon the Corinthian, who commanded in the citadel, having observed from the ramparts, that those who had been left to continue the siege, were very remiss in their duty, he made a sudden furious sally upon them, whilst they were dispersed, killed part of them, put the rest to flight, and seized the quarter of the city called *Achradina*, which was the strongest part of it, and had been least injured by the enemy. Leon fortified it in the best manner the time would admit, and joined it to the citadel by works of communication.

This bad news caused Mago and Ictetas to return immediately. At the same time a body of troops from Corinth landed safe in Sicily, having deceived the vigilance of the Carthaginian squadron posted to intercept them. When they were landed, Timoleon received them with joy, and after having taken possession of Messina, marched in battle-array against Syracuse. His army consisted of only four thousand men. When he approached the city, his first care was to send emissaries amongst the soldiers that bore arms for Ictetas. They represented to them, that it was highly shameful for Greeks, as they were, to labour that Syracuse and all Sicily should be given up to the Carthaginians, the wickedest and most cruel of all barbarians: That Ictetas had only to join Timoleon, and to act in concert with him against the common enemy. Those soldiers, hav-

(n) A. M. 3658. Ant. J. C. 346. Plut. in Timol. p. 243.---  
248.; Diod. l. xvi. p. 465. & 474.

ing spread these insinuations throughout the whole camp, gave Mago violent suspicions of his being betrayed; besides which, he had already for some time sought a pretext to retire. For these reasons, notwithstanding the intreaties and warm remonstrances of Icetas, he weighed anchor, and set sail for Africa, shamefully abandoning the conquest of Sicily.

Timoleon's army the next day appeared before the place in line of battle, and attacked it in three different quarters with so much vigour and success, that Icetas's troops were universally overthrown, and put to flight. Thus, by a good fortune that has few examples, he carried Syracuse by force in an instant, which was at that time one of the strongest cities in the world. When he had made himself master of it, he did not act like Dion, in sparing the forts and public edifices for their beauty and magnificence. To avoid giving the same cause of suspicion, which at first decried, though without foundation, and at length ruined that great man, he caused proclamation to be made by sound of trumpet, that all Syracusans who would come with their tools, might employ themselves in demolishing the forts of the tyrants. In consequence of which, the Syracusans considering that proclamation and day as the commencement of their liberty, ran in multitudes to the citadel, which they not only demolished, but the palaces of the tyrants; breaking open their tombs at the same time, which they also threw down and destroyed.

The citadel being razed, and the ground made level, Timoleon caused tribunals to be erected upon it, for the dispensation of justice in the name of the people; that the same place from whence, under the tyrants, every day some bloody edict had issued, might become the asylum and bulwark of liberty and innocence.

Timoleon was master of the city; but it wanted people to inhabit it: for some having perished in the wars and seditions, and others being fled to avoid the power of the tyrants, Syracuse was become a desert, and the grass was grown so high in the streets, that horses grazed in them. All the cities of Sicily were almost in the same condition. Timo-

Leon and the Syracusans therefore found it necessary to write to Corinth, to desire that people might be sent from Greece to inhabit Syracuse; that otherwise the country could never recover itself, and was besides threatened with a new war. For they had received advice, that Mago having killed himself, the Carthaginians, enraged at his having acquitted himself so ill of his charge, had hung up his body upon a cross, and were making great levies to return into Sicily with a more numerous army than at the beginning of the year.

Those letters being arrived with ambassadors from Syracuse, who conjured the Corinthians to take compassion of their city, and to be a second time the founders of it, the Corinthians did not consider the calamity of that people as an occasion of aggrandizing themselves and of making themselves masters of the city, according to the maxims of a base and infamous policy; but sending to all the sacred games of Greece, and to all public assemblies, they caused proclamation to be made in them by heralds. That the Corinthians having abolished the tyranny of Syracuse, and expelled the tyrants, they declared free and independent the Syracusans, and all the people of Sicily who should return into their own country, and exhorted them to repair thither, to partake of an equal and just distribution of the lands amongst them. At the same time, they dispatched couriers into Asia and into all the isles, whither great numbers of fugitives had retired, to invite them to come as soon as possible to Corinth, which would provide them vessels, commanders, and a safe convoy, to transport them into their country at its own expences.

Upon this publication, Corinth received universal praises and blessings, as it justly deserved. It was every where proclaimed, That Corinth had delivered Syracuse from the tyrants, had preserved it from falling into the hands of the barbarians, and restored it to its citizens. It is not necessary to insist here upon the grandeur of so noble and generous an action: the mere relation of it must make the impression that always results from the great and noble; and every body owned, that never conquest or triumph e-



quall'd the glory which the Corinthians then acquired by so perfect and magnanimous a disinterestedness.

Those who came to Corinth, not being sufficiently numerous, demanded an addition of inhabitants from that city, and from all Greece, to augment this kind of colony. Having obtained their request, and finding themselves increased to ten thousand, they embarked for Syracuse, where a multitude of people from all parts of Italy and Sicily had joined Timoleon. It was said their number amounted to sixty thousand and upwards. Timoleon distributed the lands amongst them *gratis*, but sold them the houses, with which he raised a very great sum; leaving it to the discretion of the old inhabitants to redeem their own; and by this means he collected a considerable fund for such of the people as were poor, and unable to support either their own necessities or the charges of the war.

The statues of the tyrants, and of all the princes who had governed Sicily, were put up to a sale: but first they were cited, and sentenced in the forms of law. One only escaped the rigor of this inquiry, and was preserved; which was Gelon, who had gained a celebrated victory over the Carthaginians at Himera, and governed the people with lenity and justice; for which his memory was still cherished and honoured. If the same scrutiny were made into all statues, I do not know whether many would continue in being.

(o) History has preserved another sentence passed also in regard to a statue, but of a very different kind. The fact is curious, and will excuse a digression. Nicon, a champion of \* Thasos, had been crowned fourteen hundred times victor in the solemn games of Greece. A man of that merit could not fail of being envied. After his death, one of his competitors insulted his statue, and gave it several blows; to revenge perhaps those he had formerly received from him it represented. But the statue, as if sensible of that outrage, fell from its height upon the person that insulted it, and killed him. The son of him who had been crushed to death, proceeded juridically against the statue,

(o) Suidas in *NICON*. Pausan, l. vi. p. 364.

\* An isle in the *Ægean sea*.

as guilty of homicide, and punishable by the law of Draco. That famous legislator of Athens, to inspire a greater horror for the guilt of murder, had ordained, that even the inanimate things should be destroyed, which should occasion the death of a man by their fall. The Thasians, conformably to this law, decreed, that the statue should be thrown into the sea. But some years after, being afflicted with a great famine, and having consulted the oracle at Delphos, they caused it to be taken out of the sea, and rendered new honours to it.

Syracuse being raised in a manner from the grave and people flocking from all parts to inhabit it, Timoleon, desirous of freeing the other cities of Sicily, and finally to extirpate tyranny and tyrants out of it, began his march with his army. He compelled Ictas to renounce his alliance with the Carthaginians, obliged him to demolish his forts, and to live as a private person in the city of the Leontines. Leptinus, tyrant of Apollonia, and of several other cities and fortresses, seeing himself in danger of being taken by force surrendered himself. Timoleon spared his life, and sent him to Corinth. For he thought nothing more great and honourable, than to let all Greece see the tyrants of Sicily in a state of humiliation, and living like exiles.

He returned afterwards to Syracuse, to regulate the government, and to institute such laws as should be most important and necessary, in conjunction with Cephalus and Dionysius, two legislators sent to him by the Corinthians: for he had not the weakness to desire unlimited power, and sole administration. But on his departure, that the troops in his pay might get something for themselves, and to keep them in exercise at the same time, he sent them, under the command of Dinarchus and Demaratus, into all the places subject to the Carthaginians. Those troops brought over several cities from the barbarians, lived always in abundance, made much booty, and returned with considerable sums of money, which was of great service in the support of the war.

(p) About this time, the Carthaginians arrived at Lilybaeum, under Asdrubal and Amilcar, with an army of seventy thousand men, two hundred ships of war, a thousand transports laden with machines, armed chariots, horses, ammunition, and provisions. They proposed no less than the entire expulsion of the Greeks out of Sicily. Timoleon did not think fit to wait their advancing; and though he could raise only six or seven thousand men, so great was the peoples terror, he marched with that small body of troops against the formidable army of the enemy, and obtained a celebrated victory near the river Crimæsus; an account of which may be found in the history of the Carthaginians (q). Timoleon returned to Syracuse, amidst shouts of joy and universal applauses.

He had before effected the conquest and reduction of the Sicilian tyrants, but had not changed them, nor taken from them their tyrannical disposition. They united together, and formed a powerful league against him. Timoleon immediately took the field, and soon put a final end to their hopes. He made them all suffer the just punishment their revolt deserved. Ictas, amongst others, with his son, were put to death as tyrants and traitors. His wife and daughters having been sent to Syracuse, and presented to the people, were also sentenced to die, and executed accordingly. The people, without doubt, designed to avenge Dion, their first deliverer, by that decree: for it was the same Ictas who had caused Arete, Dion's wife, his sister Aristomache, and his son, an infant, to be thrown into the sea.

Virtue is seldom or never without envy. Two accusers summoned Timoleon to answer for his conduct before the judges; and having assigned him a certain day for his appearance, demanded sureties of him. The people expressed great indignation against such a proceeding, and would have dispensed with so great a man's observing the usual formalities; which he strongly opposed; giving for his reason, that all he had undertaken, had no other principle, than that the laws might have their due course. He

(p) Plut. in Timol. p. 248. 255. (q) Vol. 3.

was accused of malversation during his command of the army. Timoleon, without giving himself the trouble to refute those calumnies, only replied, "That he thanked the gods, who had heard his prayers, and that he at length saw the Syracusans enjoy an entire liberty of saying every thing; a liberty absolutely unknown to them under the tyrants, but which it was just to confine within due bounds."

That great man had given Syracuse wise laws, had purged all Sicily of the tyrants which had so long infested it, had re-established peace and security universally, and supplied the cities ruined by the war with the means of re-instating themselves. After such glorious actions, which had acquired him an unbounded credit, he quitted his authority to live in retirement. The Syracusans had given him the best house in the city in gratitude for his great services, and another very fine and agreeable one in the country, where he generally resided with his wife and children, whom he had sent for from Corinth; for he did not return thither, and Syracuse was become his country. He had the wisdom, in resigning every thing, to abstract himself entirely also from envy, which never fails to attend exalted stations, and pays no respect to merit, however great and substantial. He shunned the rock, on which the greatest men, through an insatiate lust of honours and power, are often shipwrecked; that is, by engaging to the end of their lives in new cares and troubles, of which age renders them incapable, and by chusing rather to sink under, than to lay down the weight of them \*.

Timoleon, who knew all the value of a † noble and glorious leisure, acted in a different manner. He passed the rest of his life as a private person, enjoying the grateful satisfaction of seeing so many cities and such a numerous people indebted to him for their happiness and tranquillity. But he was always respected and consulted as the common oracle of Sicily. Neither treaty of peace, institution of law, division of land, nor regulation of government, seemed well done, if Timoleon had not been consulted, and put the last hand to it.

\* Maluit deficere quam definere. Quintil.

† Otium cum dignitate. Cic.



His age was tried with a very sensible affliction, which he supported with astonishing patience; it was the loss of sight. That accident, far from lessening him in the consideration and regard of the people, served only to augment them. The Syracusans did not content themselves with paying him frequent visits; they conducted all strangers, both in town and country, to see their benefactor and deliverer. When they had any important affair to deliberate upon in the assembly of the people, they called him in to their assistance, who came thither in a chariot drawn by two horses, which crossed the public place to the theatre; and in that manner he was introduced into the assembly amidst the shouts and acclamations of joy of the whole people. After he had given his opinion, which was always religiously observed, his domestics re-conducted him cross the theatre, followed by all the citizens beyond the gates with continual shouts of joy and clapping of hands.

He had still greater honours paid to him after his death. Nothing was wanting that could add to the magnificence of the procession, which followed his bier, of which the tears that were shed, and the blessings uttered by every body in honour of his memory, were the noblest ornament. Those tears were neither the effect of custom, and the formality of mourning, nor exacted by public decree, but flowed from a native source, sincere affection, lively gratitude, and inconsolable sorrow. A law was also made, that annually for the future, upon the day of his death, the music and gymnical games should be celebrated with horse-races in honour of him. But what was still more honourable for the memory of that great man, was the decree of the Syracusan people; that whenever Sicily should be engaged in a war with foreigners, they should send to Corinth for a general.

I do not know, that history has any thing more great and accomplished than what it says of Timoleon. I speak not only of his military exploits, and the happy success of all his undertakings. Plutarch observes a characteristic in them, which distinguishes Timoleon from all the great men of his times, and makes use, upon that occasion, of

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a very remarkable comparison. There is, says he, in painting and poetry, pieces which are excellent in themselves, and which, at the first view, may be known to be the works of a master; but some of them denote their having cost abundance of pains and application; whereas in others an easy and native grace is seen, which adds exceedingly to their value, and amongst the latter he places the poems of Homer. There is something of this sort occurs, when we compare the great actions of Epaminondas and Agesilaus with those of Timoleon. In the former we find them executed with force and innumerable difficulties; but in the latter there is an easiness and facility, which distinguish them as the work, not of fortune, but of virtue, which fortune seems to have taken pleasure in seconding. It is Plutarch who still speaks.

But not to mention his military actions; what I admire most in Timoleon, is his warm and disinterested passion for the public good, and his reserving only for himself the pleasure of seeing others happy by his services; his extreme remoteness from ambition and haughtiness; his honourable retirement into the country; his modesty, moderation, and indifference for the honours paid him; and, what is still more uncommon, his aversion for all flattery, and even just praises. When \* somebody extolled in his presence his wisdom, valour, and glory, in having expelled the tyrants, he made no answer, but that he thought himself obliged to express his gratitude to the gods, who, having decreed to restore peace and liberty to Sicily, had vouchsafed to make choice of him in preference to all others for so honourable a ministration: for he was fully persuaded, that all human events are guided and disposed by the secret decrees of divine providence. What a treasure, what an happiness for a state, is such a minister!

For the better understanding his value, we have only to compare the condition of Syracuse under Timoleon, with

\* Cum suas laudes audiret prædicari, nunquam aliud dixit, quam in ea re maximas diis gratias agere et habere, quod, cum Siciliam recreare constituissent, tum se potissimum ducem esse voluissent. Nihil enim rerum humanarum sine deorum numine agi putabat. Cor. Nep. in Timol. c. 4.

its state under the two Dionysius's. It is the same city, inhabitants, and people; but how different is it under the different governments we speak of! The two tyrants had no thoughts but of making themselves feared, and of depressing their subjects to render them more passive. They were terrible in effect, as they desired to be, but at the same time detested and abhorred; and had more to fear from their subjects, than their subjects from them. Timoleon, on the contrary, who looked upon himself as the father of the Syracusan people, and who had no thoughts but of making them happy, enjoyed the refined pleasure of being beloved and revered as a parent by his children: and he was remembered amongst them with blessings, because they could not reflect upon the peace and felicity they enjoyed, without calling to mind at the same time the wise legislator, to whom they were indebted for those inestimable blessings.

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# BOOK THE TWELFTH.

## THE HISTORY

### OF THE PERSIANS and GRECIANS.

**T**HIS book contains principally the history of two very illustrious generals of the Thebans, Epaminondas and Pelopidas, the deaths of Agesilaus King of Sparta, and of Artaxerxes Mneumon King of Persia.

SECT. I. *State of Greece from the treaty of Antalcides.*

*The Lacedaemonians declare war against the city of Olynthus. They seize by fraud and violence upon the citadel of Thebes. Olynthus surrenders.*

(a) **T**HE peace of Antalcides, of which mention has been made in the third chapter of the ninth book, had given the Grecian states great matter of discontent and division. In effect of that treaty, the Thebans had been obliged to abandon the cities of Boeotia, and to let them enjoy their liberty; and the Corinthians to withdraw their garrison from Argos, which by that means became free and independent. The Lacedaemonians, who were the authors and executors of this treaty, saw their power extremely augmented by it, and were industrious to make farther additions to it. They compelled the Antinaeans, against whom they pretended to have many causes of complaint in the last war, to demolish the walls of their city, and to inhabit four different places, as they had done before.

(a) A. M. 3617, Ant. J. C. 387. Xenoph. hist. Græc. l. v. p.

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(b) The two kings of Sparta, Agesipolis and Agesilaus, were of quite different characters, and as opposite in their opinions upon the present state of affairs. The first, who was naturally inclined to peace, and a strict observer of justice, was for having Sparta, already much exalted against for the treaty of Antalcides, suffer the Grecian cities to enjoy their liberties, according to the tenour of that treaty, and not disturb their tranquillity through an unjust desire of extending their dominions. The other, on the contrary, restless, active and full of great views of ambition and conquest, breathed nothing but war.

(c) At the same time, deputies arrived at Sparta from Acanthus and Apollonia, two very considerable cities of Macedonia, in respect to Olynthus a city of Thrace, inhabited by Greeks, originally of Chalcis in Euboea. (d) Athens, after the victories of Salamin and Marathon, had conquered many places on the side of Thrace, and even in Thrace itself. Those cities threw off the yoke, as soon as Sparta, at the conclusion of the Peloponnesian war, had ruined the power of Athens. Olynthus was of this number. The deputies of Acanthus and Apollonia represented in the general assembly of the allies, that Olynthus, situated in their neighbourhood, daily improved in strength in an extraordinary manner; that it perpetually extended its dominions by new conquests; that it obliged all the cities round about to submit to it, and to enter into its measures; and was upon the point of concluding an alliance with the Athenians and Thebans. The affair being taken into consideration, it was unanimously resolved, that it was necessary to declare war against the Olynthians. It was agreed, that the allied cities should furnish ten thousand troops, with liberty, to such as desired it, to substitute money, at the rate of three oboli (e) a day for each foot-soldier, and four times as much for the horse. The Lacedaemonians, to lose no time, made their troops march directly, under the command of Eudamidas, who prevailed with the Bephoris, that Phaebidas, his brother, might have the lead-

(b) Diod. l. xv. p. 341.

(c) A. M. 3621. Ant. J. C. 383.

(d) Diod. l. xv. p. 554---556.

(e) Five pence.

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ing of those which were to follow, and join him soon after. When he arrived in that part of Macedonia, which is also called Thrace, he garrisoned such places as applied to him for that purpose, seized upon Potidaea, a city in alliance with the Olynthians, which surrendered without making any defence; and began the war against Olynthus, though slowly, as it was necessary for a general to act before his troops were all assembled.

(f) Phaeidas began his march soon after, and being arrived near Thebes, incamped without the walls near the Gymnasium, or public place of exercise. Ismenius and Leontides, both Polemarchs, that is, generals of the army, and supreme magistrates of Thebes, were at the head of two different factions. The first, who had engaged Pelopidas in his party, was no friend to the Lacedaemonians, nor they to him; because he publicly declared for popular government and liberty. The other, on the contrary, favoured an oligarchy, and was supported by the Lacedaemonians with their whole interest. I am obliged to enter into this detail, because the event I am going to relate, and which was a consequence of it, occasions the important war between the Thebans and the Spartans.

This being the state of affairs at Thebes, Leontides applied to Phaeidas, and proposed to him to seize the citadel, called *Gadmaea*, to expel the adherents of Ismenius, and to give the Lacedaemonians possession of it. He represented to him, that nothing could be more glorious for him, than to make himself master of Thebes, whilst his brother was endeavouring to reduce Olynthus; that he would thereby facilitate the success of his brother's enterprise; and that the Thebans, who had prohibited their citizens by decree to bear arms against the Olynthians, would not fail, upon his making himself master of the citadel, to supply him with whatever number of horse and foot he should think proper for the reinforcement of Eudamidas.

Phaeidas, who had much ambition and little conduct, and who had no other view than to signalise himself by some

(f) A. M. 3622. Ant. J. C. 381. Xenoph. p. 556--558; Plutarch in Agésil. p. 608, 609. Id. in Pelop. p. 280. Diod. l. xv. p. 341, 342.

extraordinary action, without examining the consequences, suffered himself to be easily persuaded. Whilst the Thebans, entirely secure under the treaty of peace lately concluded by the Grecian states, celebrated the feasts of Ceres, and expected nothing less than such an act of hostility, Phaeidas, conducted by Leontides, took possession of the citadel. The senate was then sitting. Leontides went to them, and declared, that there was nothing to be feared from the Lacedaemonians, who had entered the citadel; that they were only the enemies of those who were for disturbing the public tranquillity; that as for himself, by the power his office of polemarch gave him of confining whoever caballed against the state, he should put Ismenius into a place of security, who factiously endeavoured to break the peace. He was seized accordingly, and carried to the citadel. The party of Ismenius seeing their chief a prisoner, and apprehending the utmost violence for themselves, quitted the city with precipitation, and retired to Athens, to the number of four hundred and upwards. They were soon after banished by a public decree. Pelopidas was of the number: but Epaminondas remained at Thebes unmolested; being disregarded as a man entirely devoted to the study of Philosophy, who did not intermeddle in affairs of state; and also from his poverty, which left no room to fear any thing from him. A new Polemarch was nominated in the room of Ismenius, and Leontides went to Lacedaemon.

The news of Phaeidas's enterprise, who at a time of general peace had taken possession of a citadel by force, upon which he had no claim or right, had occasioned great murmurings and complaints. Such especially as opposed Agesilaus, who was suspected of having shared in the scheme, demanded by whose orders Phaeidas had committed so strange a breach of public faith. Agesilaus, who well knew that those warm reproaches were aimed at him, made no difficulty of justifying Phaeidas, and declared openly, and before all the world, "That the action ought to be considered in itself, in order to understand whether it were useful or not; that whatever was expedient for Sparta, he

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was not only permitted but commanded to act upon his own authority, and without waiting the orders of any body." Strange principles to be advanced by a person, who upon other occasions had maintained, *That justice was the supreme of virtues, and that without it, valour itself, and every other great quality, were useless and unavailing!* It is the same man that made answer, when somebody in his presence magnified the King of Persia's grandeur, *He whom you call the great king, in what is he greater than me, unless he be more just?* A truly noble and admirable maxim, **THAT JUSTICE MUST BE THE RULE OF WHATEVER EXCELS AND IS GREAT!** but a maxim that he had only in his mouth, and which all his actions contradicted; conformable to the principle of the generality of politicians, who imagine, that a statesman ought always to have justice in his mouth, but never lose an occasion of violating it, for the advantage of his country.

But let us now hear the sentence, which the august assembly of Sparta, so renowned for the wisdom of its counsels and the equity of its decrees, is about to pronounce. The affair being maturely considered, the whole discussed at large, and the manner of it set in its full light, the assembly resolved, that Phaeidas should be deprived of his command, and fined an hundred thousand drachma's (g); but that they should continue to hold the citadel, and keep a good garrison in it. What a strange contradiction was this, says Polybius (h), what a disregard of all justice and reason! to punish the criminal, and approve the crime; and not only to approve the crime tacitly, and without having any share in it, but to ratify it by the public authority, and continue it in the name of the state for the advantages arising from it! but this was not all; commissioners appointed by all the cities in alliance with Sparta, were dispatched to the citadel of Thebes to try Ismenius, upon whom they passed sentence of death, which was immediately executed. Such flagrant injustice seldom remains unpunished. To act in such a manner, says Polybius again, is neither for one's country's interest, nor one's own.

(g) About 2020l. Sterling. (h) Lib. iv. p. 296.



(i) Telutias, Agefilaus's brother, had been substituted in the place of Phaebidas to command the rest of the troops of the allies designed against Olynthus; whither he marched with all expedition. The city was strong, and furnished with every thing necessary to a good defence. Several sallies were made with good success, in one of which Telutias was killed. The next year King Agefipolis had the command of the army. The campaign passed in skirmishing, without any thing decisive. Agefipolis died soon after of a disease, and was succeeded by his brother Cleombrotus (k), who reigned nine years. About that time began the hundredth Olympiad. Sparta made fresh efforts to terminate the war with the Olynthians. Polybius their general pressed the siege with vigor. The place being in want of provisions, was at last obliged to surrender, and was received by the Spartans into the number of their allies.

SECT. II. *Sparta's prosperity. Character of two illustrious Thebans, Epaminondas and Pelopidas. The latter forms the design of restoring the liberty of his country. Conspiracy against the tyrants wisely conducted, and happily executed. The citadel is retaken.*

(l) THE fortune of the Lacedaemonians never appeared with greater splendor, nor their power more strongly established. All Greece was subjected to them either by force or alliance. They were in possession of Thebes, a most powerful city, and with that, of all Boeotia. They had found means to humble Argos, and to hold it in dependence. Corinth was entirely at their devotion, and obeyed their orders in every thing. The Athenians, abandoned by their allies, and reduced almost to their own strength, were in no condition to make head against them. If any city or people in their alliance attempted to abstract themselves from their power, an immediate punishment reduced them to their former obedience, and terrified all others from following their example. Thus, masters by

(i) Xenoph. l. v. p. 559.---565.; Diod. l. xv. p. 342, 343.  
 (k) A. M. 3624. Ant. J. C. 380. (l) Xenoph. l. v. p. 561.  
 Diod. l. xv. p. 334.

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sea and land, all trembled before them; and the most formidable princes, as the King of Persia, and the tyrant of Sicily, seemed to emulate each other in courting their friendship and alliance.

A prosperity founded in injustice can be of no long duration. The greatest blows that ever were given the Spartan power, came from the quarter where they had acted the highest injuries, and from whence they did not seem to have any thing to fear, that is to say, from Thebes. Two illustrious citizens of that state will make a glorious appearance upon the theatre of Greece, and for that reason deserve our notice in this place.

(m) These are Pelopidas and Epaminondas; both descended from the noblest families of Thebes. Pelopidas, nurtured in the greatest affluence, and while young, sole heir of a very rich flourishing family, employed his wealth, from the first possession of it, in the relief of such as had occasion for it, and merited his favour; shewing, in that wise use of his riches, that he was really their master, and not their slave. For, according to Aristotle's remark repeated by Plutarch, \* most men either make no use at all of their fortunes out of avarice, or abuse them in bad or trifling expences. As for Epaminondas, poverty was all his inheritance, in which his honour, and one might almost say his joy and delight, consisted. He was born of poor parents, and consequently familiarized from his infancy with poverty, which he made more grateful and easy to him by his taste for philosophy. Pelopidas, who supported a great number of citizens, never being able to prevail on him to accept his offers, and to make use of his fortune, resolved to share in the poverty of his friend, by making him his example, and became the model, as well as admiration of the whole city, from the modesty of his dress, and the frugality of his table.

(n) If Epaminondas was poor as to the goods of fortune, those of the head and heart made him a most ample amends. Modest, prudent, grave, happy in improving occasions,

(m) Plut. in Pelop. p. 279 (n) Cor Nep. in Epam c 3.

\* Τῶν πολλῶν, οἱ μὲν οὐ χρύονται τὰ πλῆτη διὰ μικρολογίας, οἱ δὲ παρὰ χρύται δι' αὐστηρίας.

possessing, in a supreme degree, the science of war, equally valiant and wise, easy and complaisant in the commerce of the world, suffering, with incredible patience, the people's, and even his friends ill treatment, uniting, with the ardor for military exercises, a wonderful taste for study and the sciences, piquing himself especially so much upon truth and sincerity, that he made a scruple of telling a lie even in jest, or for diversion. *Adeo veritatis diligens, ut ne joco quidem mentiretur.*

(o) They were both equally inclined to virtue. But Pelopidas was best pleased with the exercises of the body, and Epaminondas with the cultivation of the mind. For which reason, they employed their leisure, the one in the palaestra and the chase, the other in conversation and the study of philosophy.

But what persons of sense and judgment must principally admire in them, and which is rarely found in their high rank, is the perfect union and friendship that always subsisted between them, during the whole time they were employed together in the administration of the public affairs, whether in war or peace. If we examine the government of Aristides and Themistocles, that of Cimon and Pericles, of Nicias and Alcibiades, we shall find them full of trouble, dissension, and debate. The two friends we speak of held the first offices in the state; all great affairs passed through their hands; every thing was confided to their care and authority. In such delicate conjunctures, what occasions of pique and jealousy generally arise? But neither difference of sentiment, diversity of interest, nor the least emotion of envy ever altered their union and good understanding. The reason of which was, their being founded upon an unalterable principle, that is, upon virtue; which in all their actions, says Plutarch, occasioned their having neither glory nor riches, fatal sources of strife and division, in view, but solely the public good; and made them desire, not the advancement or honour of their own families, but to render their country more powerful and flourishing. Such are the two illustrious men who are about to make their ap-

(o) Plut. in Pelop. p. 279.

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pearance, and to give a new face to the affairs of Greece, by the great events in which they have a principal share.

(p) Leontides, being apprised that the exiles had retired to Athens, where they had been well received by the people, and were in great esteem with all people of worth and honour, sent thither certain unknown persons to assassinate the most considerable of them. Only Androclides was killed, all the rest escaping the contrivances of Leontides.

At the same time the Athenians received letters from Sparta, to prohibit their receiving or assisting the exiles, and with orders to expel them their city, as they were declared common enemies by all the allies. The humanity and virtue peculiar and natural to the Athenians, made them reject so infamous a proposal with horror. They were transported with the occasion of expressing their gratitude to the Thebans for a previous obligation of the same nature. For the Thebans had contributed most to the re-establishment of the popular government at Athens, having declared in their favour by a public decree, contrary to the prohibition of Sparta; and it was from Thebes Thrasylulus set out to deliver Athens from the tyranny of the Thirty.

Pelopidas, though at that time very young, went to all the exiles one after another, of whom Melon was the most considerable. He represented to them, "That it was unworthy of honest men to content themselves with having saved their own lives, and to look with indifference upon their country, enslaved and miserable: That whatever good-will the people of Athens might express for them, it was not fit that they should suffer their fate to depend upon the decrees of a people, which their natural inconstancy, and the malignity of orators that turned them any way at will, might soon alter: That it was necessary to hazard every thing after the example of Thrasylulus,

(p) A. M. 3626. Ant. J. C. 378. Xenoph. hist. Gr. l. v. p. 566--568; Plut. in Pelop. p. 280--284. Id. de Socrat. gen. p. 586--588. & 594--598.; Diod. l. xv. p. 344. 346.; Cor. Nep. in Pelop. c. 1--4.



and to set before them his intrepid valour, and generous fortitude as a model: That as he set out from Thebes to suppress and destroy the tyrants of Athens, so they might go from Athens to restore Thebes its antient liberty."

This discourse made all the impression upon the exiles that could be expected. They sent privately to inform their friends at Thebes of their resolution, who extremely approved their design. Charon, one of the principal persons of the city, offered to receive the conspirators into his house. Philidas found means to get himself made secretary to Archias and Philip, who were then polemarchs, or supreme magistrates of the city. As for Epaminondas, he had for some time diligently endeavoured to inspire the younger Thebans, by discourse, with a passionate desire to throw off the Spartan yoke. (q) He was ignorant of nothing that had been projected; but he believed, that he ought not to have any share in it; because, as he said, he could not resolve to imbrue his hands in the blood of his country; foreseeing that his friends would not keep within the due bounds of the enterprise, however lawful in itself, and that the tyrants would not perish alone; and, convinced besides, that a citizen, who should not appear to have taken either party, would have it in his power to influence the people with better effect.

The day for the execution of the project being fixed, the exiles thought proper, that Pherenicus, with all the conspirators, should stop at Thriasium, a little town not far from Thebes, and that a small number of the youngest of them should venture into the city. Twelve persons of the best families of Thebes, all united by a strict and faithful friendship with each other, though competitors for glory and honour, offered themselves for this bold enterprise. Pelopidas was of this number. After having embraced their companions, and dispatched a messenger to Charon to give him notice of their coming, they set out, dressed in mean habits, carrying hounds with them, and poles in their hands for pitching of nets, that such as they met on the

(q) Plut. de gen. Socrat. p. 594.

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way might have no suspicion of them, and take them only for hunters that had wandered after their game.

Their messenger being arrived at Thebes, and having informed Charon that they were set out, the approach of danger did not alter their sentiments; and as he wanted neither courage nor honour, he prepared his house for their reception.

One of the conspirators, who was no bad man, loved his country, and would have served the exiles with all his power; but had neither the resolution nor constancy necessary for such an enterprise, and could think of nothing but difficulties and obstacles, that presented themselves in crowds to his imagination. Much disordered with the prospect of danger, this person retired into his house, without saying any thing, and dispatched one of his friends to Melon and Pelopidas, to desire them to defer their enterprise, and return to Athens till a more favourable opportunity. Happily that friend not finding his horse's bridle, and losing a great deal of time in quarrelling with his wife, was prevented from going.

Pelopidas and his companions, disguised like peasants, and having separated from each other, entered the city at different gates, towards the close of day. It was then early in the winter; the north wind blew, and the snow fell; which contributed to conceal them, every body keeping within doors upon account of the cold weather; besides which, it gave them an opportunity of covering their faces. Some, who were in the secret, received and conducted them to Charon's house; where, of exiles and others, their whole number amounted to forty-eight.

Philidas, secretary to the \* Boeotarchs, who was in the plot, had, some time before, invited Archias and his companions to supper, promising them an exquisite repast, and the company of some of the finest women in the city. The guests being met at the appointed time, they sat down to table. They had been free with the glass, and were almost

\* The magistrates and generals who were charged with the government of Thebes, were called Boeotarchs, that is to say, commanders, or governors of Boeotia.

drunk ; when it was whispered about, but not known where the report began, that the exiles were in the city. Philidas, without shewing any concern, did his utmost to change the discourse. Archias however sent one of his officers to Charon, with orders to come to him immediately. It was now too late ; and Pelopidas and the conspirators were preparing to set out, and had put on their armour and swords, when, on a sudden, they heard a knocking at the door. Some body went to it ; and being told by the officer, that he was come from the magistrates, with orders for Charon to attend them immediately ; he ran to him half out of his wits, to acquaint him with that terrible message. They all concluded, that the conspiracy was discovered, and believed themselves lost, before it would be possible to execute any thing worthy their cause and valour. However, they were all of opinion, that Charon should obey the order, and present himself with an air of assurance to the magistrates, as void of fear, and unconscious of offence.

Charon was a man of intrepid courage in dangers which threatened only himself ; but at that time, terrified for his friends, and apprehending also, that he should be suspected of some treachery, if so many brave citizens, whom he had received into his house, should be destroyed, he went to his wife's apartment, and fetched his only son, of fifteen years old at most, who, in beauty and strength, excelled all the youths of his age, and put him into the hands of Pelopidas ; saying at the same time, " If you discover that I have betrayed you, and have been guilty of treachery upon this occasion, revenge yourself on me in this my only son, whom, as dear as he is to me, I abandon to you, and let him fall a victim without mercy to his father's perfidy. "

These expressions wounded them to the heart. But what gave them the most sensible pain, was, his imagining there was any one amongst them so mean and ungrateful to form to himself the least suspicion in regard to him. They conjured him unanimously not to leave his son with them, but to put him into some place of safety ; that his friends

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and country might not want an avenger, if he should be so fortunate as to escape the tyrants. "No," replied the father; "he shall stay with you, and share your fate. If he must perish, what nobler end can he make, than with his father and best friends? For you, my son, exert yourself beyond your years, and shew a courage worthy of you and of me. You see here the most excellent of the Thebans, Make, under such masters, a noble essay of glory, and learn to fight, or, if it must be so, to die like them, for liberty. For the rest, I am not without hopes; for I believe that the justice of our cause will draw down the favour and protection of the gods upon us." He concluded with a prayer for them; and, after embracing the conspirators, went out.

He took pains on his way to recover himself, and to compose his looks and voice that he might not appear under any concern. When he came to the door of the house where the feast was kept, Archias and Philadas came out to him, and asked the meaning of a report, that disaffected people were arrived in the city, and were concealed in some house? he seemed astonished, and finding by their answers to his questions, that they had no precise information of any thing, he assumed a bolder tone and said, "It is very likely the report you speak of is only a false alarm intended to interrupt your mirth: however, as it ought not to be neglected, I'll go immediately and make the strictest inquiry possible into it. Philidas praised his prudence and zeal; and carrying Archias back into the company, he plunged him again in the debauch, and continued the entertainment, by keeping the guests in perpetual expectation of the women he had promised them.

Charon, on his return home found his friends all prepared not to conquer or to save their lives, but to die gloriously, and to sell themselves as dear as they could. The serenity and joy of his looks explained before-hand, that they had nothing to fear. He repeated all that had passed; after which they had no thoughts but of the instant execution of a design, to which the least delay might occasion thousand obstacles.



In effect, that very instant happened a second storm, far more violent than the first, and which seemed as if it could not possibly fail of making the enterprise miscarry. A courier from Athens arrived in great haste with a packet, which contained a circumstantial account of the whole conspiracy, as was afterwards discovered. That courier was brought first to Archias, who was far gone in wine, and breathed nothing but pleasure and the bottle. In giving him his dispatches, he said, "My Lord, the person who writes you these letters, conjures you to read them immediately, being serious affairs." Archias replied laughing, \* *Serious affairs to-morrow*; which words were afterwards used by the Greeks as a proverb; and taking the letters, he put them under † his pillow, and continued the conversation and debauch.

The conspirators were at that time in the streets, divided into two parties; the one with Pelopidas at their head, marched against Leontides, who was not at the feast; the other against Archias, under the command of Charon. These had put on women's habits over their armour, and crowned themselves with pine and poplar wreaths, which entirely covered their faces. When they came to the door of the apartment where the feast was kept, the guests made a great noise, and set up loud shouts of joy. But they were told, that the women would not come in, till the servants were all dismissed; which was done immediately. They were sent to neighbouring houses, where there was no want of wine for their entertainment. The conspirators, by this stratagem, having made themselves masters of the field of battle, entered sword in hand; and shewing themselves in their true colours, put all the guests to the sword, and with them the magistrates, who were full of wine, and in no condition to defend themselves. Pelopidas met with more resistance. Leontides, who was asleep in bed, awaked with the noise that was made, and rising immediately, armed himself with his sword, and laid some of the conspirators at his feet; but was at last killed himself.

\* Οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτοῖς, ἐπὶ, τὰ στυδαῖα.

† The Greeks eat lying on beds.

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This grand affair being executed in this manner, with so much dispatch and success, couriers were immediately dispatched to Thriasium. The doors of the prisons were broke open, and five hundred prisoners let out. The Thebans were called upon to resume their liberty, and arms were given to all they met. The spoils affixed to the porticos were taken down, and the armourers and cutlers shops broke open for that purpose. Epaminondas and Gorgidas came in arms to join them, with some old persons of great estimation, whom they had got together.

The whole city was in great terror and confusion; the houses all illuminated with torches, and the streets thronged with the multitude passing to and fro. The people, in a consternation at what had happened, and for want of sufficient information, waited impatiently for the day to know their destiny. The Lacedaemonian captains were therefore thought guilty of a very great error, in not falling upon them during their disorder; for the garrison consisted of fifteen hundred men, besides three thousand who had taken refuge in the citadel. Alarmed by the cries they heard, the illuminations they saw in the houses, and the tumult of the multitude running backwards and forwards, they lay still, and contented themselves with guarding the citadel, after having sent couriers to Sparta with the news of what had happened, and to demand an immediate reinforcement.

The next day at sun-rise, the exiles arrived with their arms, and the people were summoned to assemble. Epaminondas and Gorgidas conducted Pelopidas thither, surrounded with all their sacrificers, carrying in their hands the sacred bandages and fillets, and exhorting the citizens to assist their country, and to join with their gods. At this sight, the whole assembly rose up with loud acclamations and clapping of hands, and received the conspirators as their benefactors and deliverers. The same day, Pelopidas, Melon, and Charon, were elected Boeotarchs.

Soon after the exiles arrived five thousand foot, and five hundred horse, sent by the Athenians to Pelopidas under the command of Demophoon. Those troops, with others

which joined them from all the cities of Boeotia, composed an army of twelve thousand foot, and as many horse; and without loss of time, besieged the citadel, that it might be taken before relief could come from Sparta.

The besieged made a vigorous defence, in hopes of a speedy succour, and seemed resolved rather to die than surrender the place; at least, the Lacedaemonians were of that opinion: but they were not the greatest number of the garrison. When provisions began to fall short, and famine to press them, the rest of the troops obliged the Spartans to surrender. The garrison had their lives granted them, and were permitted to retire whither they thought fit. They were scarce marched out, when the aid arrived. The Lacedaemonians found Cleombrotus at Megara, at the head of a powerful army, which, with a little more expedition, might have saved the citadel. But this was not the first time the natural slowness of the Lacedaemonians had occasioned the miscarriage of their enterprizes. The three commanders who had capitulated, were tried. Two of them were punished with death; and the third had so great a fine laid upon him, that, not being able to pay it, he banished himself from Peloponnesus.

Pelopidas had all the honour of this great exploit, the most memorable that ever was executed by surprise and stratagem. Plutarch with reason compares it to that of Thrasylbulus. Both exiles, destitute in themselves of all resource, and reduced to implore a foreign support, from the bold design of attacking a formidable power with an handful of men; and overcoming all obstacles to their enterprize solely by their valour, had each of them the good fortune to deliver their country, and to change the face of its affairs entirely. For the Athenians were indebted to Thrasylbulus for that sudden and happy change, which, freeing them from the oppression they groaned under, not only restored their liberty, but with it their antient splendor, and put them into a condition to humble, and make Sparta tremble in their turn. We shall see in like manner, that the war which reduced the pride of Sparta, and deprived it of the empire by sea and land, was the work of

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his single night, in which Pelopidas, without taking either citadel or fortress, and entering only one of twelve into a private house, unloosed\* and broke the chains imposed by the Lacedaemonians on all the other states of Greece, though it appeared impracticable ever to produce such an effect.

SECT. III. *Sphodrias the Lacedaemonian forms a design against the Piraeus without success. The Athenians declare for the Thebans. Skirmishes between the latter and the Lacedaemonians.*

(r) **T**HE Lacedaemonians, after the injury they pretended to have received by the enterprize of Pelopidas, did not continue quiet, but applied themselves in earnest to their revenge. Agesilaus, rightly judging an expedition of that kind, of which the end was to support tyrants, would not reflect much honour upon him, lest it to Cleombrotus, who had lately succeeded King Agelipolis; under pretence that his great age dispensed with his undertaking it. Cleombrotus entered Boeotia with his army. The first campaign was not vigorous, and terminated in committing some ravages in the country; after which the King retired, and detaching part of his troops to Sphodrias, who commanded at Thespieae, returned to Sparta.

The Athenians, who did not think themselves in a condition to make head against the Lacedaemonians, and were afraid of the consequences, in which their league with the Thebans was likely to engage them, repented their having entered into it, and renounced it. Those, who persisted to adhere to the Theban party, were some imprisoned, some put to death, others banished, and the rich severely fined. The Theban affairs seemed almost desperate; not having any alliance to support them. Pelopidas and Gorgidas were then at the head of them, and were studious of finding means to imbroil the Athenians with the Lacedaemonians; and this was the stratagem they contrived.

(r) A. M. 3627. Ant. J. C. 377. Xenoph. l. v. p. 568—572; Plut. in Agef. p. 609, 610; Id. in Pelop. p. 284, 285.

\* Πειλοπιδας, ει δι μεταφορα το αλυσει ειπεν, ηλυσεν δ διακοψεν της δεσμους της Λακεδαιμονιων ηγεμονιας αλυτους και αρρηκτους ειναι δοκουντας.



Sphodrias the Spartan had been left at Thespieae with a body of troops, to receive and protect such of the Boeotians as should revolt against Thebes. He had acquired some reputation amongst the soldiery, and wanted neither courage nor ambition; but he was rash, superficial, full of himself, and consequently apt to entertain vain hopes. Pelopidas and Gorgidas sent privately a merchant of his own acquaintance to him, with the offer, as from himself, of a considerable sum of money, and with insinuations still more agreeable to him than money, as they flattered his vanity. "After having represented to him, that one of his merit and reputation ought to form some great enterprise to immortalize his name; he proposed to him the seizing of the Piraeus by surprise, when the Athenians had no expectation of such an attempt. He added, that nothing could be more grateful to the Lacedaemonians, than to see themselves masters of Athens; and that the Thebans, enraged at the Athenians, whom they considered as traitors and deserters, would lend them no assistance."

Sphodrias, fond of acquiring a great name, and envying the glory of Phaeidas, who, in his sense, had rendered himself renowned and illustrious by his unjust attempt upon Thebes, conceived it would be a much more shining and glorious exploit, to seize the Piraeus of his own accord, and deprive the Athenians of their great power at sea, by an unforeseen attack by land. He undertook the enterprise therefore with great joy; which was neither less unjust nor less horrid than that of the Cadmea, but not executed with the same boldness and success. For having set out in the night from Thespieae, with a view of surprising the Piraeus before light, the day-break overtook him in the plain of Thriassium near Eleusis; and finding himself discovered, he returned shamefully to Thespieae with some booty which he had taken.

The Athenians immediately sent ambassadors with their complaints to Sparta. Those ambassadors found, that the Lacedaemonians had not waited their arrival to accuse Sphodrias, but had already cited him before the council to answer for his conduct. He was afraid to obey that sum

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mons, having just reason to apprehend the issue of a trial, and the resentment of his country. He had a son, who had contracted a strict and tender friendship with the son of Agefilaus. The latter solicited his father so earnestly, or rather tormented him with such extreme importunity and perseverance, that he could not refuse Sphodrias his protection, and got him fully absolved. Agefilaus was a little delicate, as we have seen already, in point of justice, when the service of his friends was in question. He was besides, of all mankind, the most tender and indulgent father to his children. It is reported of him, that when they were little, he would play with them, and divert himself with riding upon a stick amongst them; and that having been surpris'd by a friend in that action, he desired him not to tell any body of it till he himself was a father.

(s) The unjust sentence passed in favour of Sphodrias by the Spartans, exceedingly incensed the Athenians, and determined them to renew their alliance with Thebes immediately, and to assist them with all their power. They fitted out a fleet, and gave the command of it to Timotheus, son of the illustrious Conon, whose reputation he well sustained by his own valour and exploits. It was he whom his enemies, in envy of the glory he had acquired by his great actions, painting sleeping with the goddess fortune at his feet taking towns in nets for him (t): But upon this occasion he proved that he was not asleep. After having ravaged the coast of Laconia, he attacked the Isle of Corcyra (u) which he took. He treated the inhabitants with great humanity, and made no alteration in their liberty or laws, which very much inclined the neighbouring cities in favour of Athens. The Spartans on their side made powerful preparations for the war, and were principally intent upon retaking Corcyra. Its happy situation between Sicily and Greece rendered that island very important. They therefore engaged Dionysius the Tyrant in the expedition, and demanded aid of him. In the mean time they dispatched their fleet under Mnasippus. The Athenians sent sixty sail

(s) Xenoph. l. v. p. 584---589; Plut. in Agil. p. 610, 611; Id. in Pelop. p. 295---288. (t) Plut. in Syl. p. 454. (u) Corfu,

against them to the relief of Corcyra, under Timotheus at first; but soon after, upon his seeming to act slowly, Iphicrates was substituted in his place. Mnasippus having made himself odious to his troops by his haughtiness, rigor, and avarice, was very ill obeyed by them, and lost his life in an engagement. Iphicrates did not arrive till after his death, when he received advice, that the Syracusan Squadron of ten galleys approached; which he attacked so successfully, that not one of them escaped. He had demanded, that the orator Calistratus, and Cabrias, one of the most renowned captains of his time, should be joined in commission with him. Xenophon admires his wisdom and greatness of soul upon that account, in being satisfied with appearing to have occasion for counsel, and not apprehending to share the glory of his victories with others.

Agésilas had been prevailed upon to take upon him the command of the troops against Thebes. He entered Boeotia, where he did abundance of damage to the Thebans, not without considerable loss on his own side. The two armies came every day to blows, and were perpetually engaged, though not in formal battle, yet in skirmishes; which served to instruct the Thebans in the trade of war, and to inspire them with valour, boldness, and experience. It is reported, that the Spartan Antalcides told Agésilas very justly upon this head, when he was brought back from Boeotia much wounded. *My Lord Agésilas, you have a fine reward for the lessons you have given the Thebans in the art of war, which, before you taught it them, they neither would, nor could learn.* It was to prevent this inconvenience, that Lycurgus, in one of the three laws which he calls *Rhetrae*, forbade the Lacedaemonians to make war often upon the same enemy, lest they should make them too good soldiers, by obliging them to the frequent defence of themselves.

Several campaigns passed in this manner without any thing decisive on either side. It was prudent in the Theban generals not to hazard a battle hitherto, and to give their soldiers time to enure and imbolden themselves. When the occasion was favourable, they let them loose

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like generous hounds, and after having given them a taste of victory, by way of reward, they called them off, contented with their courage and alacrity. The principal glory of their success, and this wise conduct was due to Pelopidas.

The engagement at Tegyra, which was a kind of prelude to the battle of Leuctra, added much to his reputation. Having failed in his enterprize against Orchomenos, which had joined the Lacedaemonians, at his return he found the enemy posted to intercept him near Tegyra. As soon as the Thebans perceived them from the defiles, somebody run in all haste to Pelopidas, and told him, *We are fallen into the enemy's hands.* Ah! replied he, *Why should we not rather say, that they are fallen into ours?* At the same time he ordered his cavalry, which were his rear-guard, to advance to the front, that they might begin the fight. He was assured, that his foot, which were only three hundred men, and were called the *sacred battalion*, would break through the enemy where-ever they charged, though superior in number, as they were by at least two thirds. The assault began where the generals of each party were posted, and was very rude. The two generals of the Lacedaemonians, who had charged Pelopidas, were presently killed; all that were with them being either slain or dispersed. The rest of the Lacedaemonian troops were so daunted, that they opened a passage for the Thebans, who might have marched on to save themselves if they had thought fit: but Pelopidas disdain- ing to make use of that opening for his retreat, advanced against those who were still drawn up in battle, and made so great a slaughter of them, that they were all dismayed, and fled in disorder. The Thebans did not pursue them far, lest they should be surpris'd. They contented them- selves with having broken them, and with making a glori- ous retreat not inferior to a victory, because through the enemy dispersed and defeated.

This little encounter, for it can be called no more, was in a manner the source of the great actions and events we are about to treat of. It had never happened till



then in any war, either against the barbarians or Greeks, that the Lacedaemonians had been defeated with the superiority of number on their side, nor even with equal forces in battle array. For which reason they were insupportably proud, and their reputation alone kept their enemies in awe, who never durst shew themselves in the field before them, unless superior in number. They now lost that glory, and the Thebans in their turn became the terror and dread even of those who had rendered themselves so universally formidable.

(x) The enterprize of Artaxerxes Mnemon, against Egypt, and the death of Evagoras King of Cyprus, should naturally come in here. But I shall defer those articles, to avoid breaking in upon the Theban affairs.

SECT. IV. *New troubles in Greece. The Lacedaemonians declare war against Thebes. They are defeated and put to flight in the battle of Leuctra. Epaminondas ravages Laconia, and marches to the gates of Sparta.*

(y) **W**HILST the Persians were engaged in the Egyptian war, great troubles arose in Greece. In that interval the Thebans, having taken Plataea, (z) and afterwards Thespieae, entirely demolished those cities and expelled the inhabitants. The Plataeans retired to Athens with their wives and children, where they were received with the utmost favour, and adopted into the number of the citizens.

(a) Artaxerxes being informed of the state of the Grecian affairs, sent a new embassy thither to persuade the several cities and republics at war to lay down their arms, and accommodate their differences upon the plan of the treaty of Antalcides. By that peace, as has been observed in its place, it was concluded, that all the cities of Greece should enjoy their liberty, and be governed by their own laws. In virtue of this article, the Lacedaemonians pressed the Thebans to restore their liberty to all the cities of Boe-

(x) A. M. 3627. A. M. 3630. (y) Diod. l. xv. p. 361, 362. (z) Plataea, a city of Boeotia; Thespieae of Achaia. (a) A. M. 3633. Ant. J. C. 371. Xenoph. Hist. Graec. l. vi. p. 590. ad 593. Dion. p. 365, 366.

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otia, to rebuild Plataea and Thespieae which they had demolished, and to restore them with their dependencies to their antient inhabitants. The Thebans on their side insisted also, that the Lacedaemonians should give liberty to all those of Laconia, and that the city of Messene should be restored to its antient possessors. This was what equity required; but the Lacedaemonians believing themselves much superior to the Thebans, were for imposing a law upon them, which they would not submit to themselves.

All Greece being weary of a war, which had already lasted several campaigns, and had no other cause but the Spartan ambition and injustice, nor any other end than the aggrandizing of that state, was seriously intent upon a general peace, and, with that view, had sent deputies to Lacedaemon, to concert together the means of attaining so desirable an effect. (b) Amongst those deputies Epaminondas was of the first rank. He was at that time celebrated for his great erudition and profound knowledge in philosophy; but he had not yet given any very distinguished proofs of his great capacity for the command of armies, and the administration of public affairs. Seeing that all the deputies, out of respect for Agesilaus, who declared openly for the war, were afraid to contradict him, or to differ from his opinion in any thing, a very common effect of too imperious a power on one side, and too servile a submission on the other; he was the only one that spoke with a wise and noble boldness, as became a statesman who had no other view but the public good. He made a speech, not for the Thebans alone, but for Greece in general; in which he proved, that the war augmented only the power of Sparta, whilst the rest of Greece was reduced, and ruined by it. He insisted principally upon the necessity of establishing the peace in equality and justice, because no peace could be solid and of long duration, but that wherein all parties should find an equal advantage.

A discourse like this, founded evidently upon reason and justice, and pronounced with a grave and serious tone, ne-

(b) Plut. in Agesil. p. 611.

ver fails of making impression. Agesilaus plainly distinguished, from the attention and silence with which it was heard, that the deputies were extremely affected with it, and would not fail to act conformably to his opinion. To prevent that effect, he demanded of Epaminondas, *Whether he thought it just and reasonable, that Boeotia should be free and independent?* that is to say, whether he agreed, that the cities of Boeotia should depend no longer upon Thebes. Epaminondas immediately asked in his turn with great vivacity, *Whether he thought it just and reasonable, that Laconia should enjoy the same independence and liberty?* Upon which Agesilaus rising from his seat in great rage, insisted upon his declaring plainly, *whether he would consent that Boeotia should be free?* Epaminondas retorted his question again, and asked, *Whether, on his side, he would consent that Laconia should be free?* Agesilaus, who wanted only a pretext for breaking with the Thebans, struck them directly out of the treaty of alliance, which they were about to conclude. The rest of the allies signed it, less out of inclination, than not to offend the Lacedaemonians, whose power they dreaded.

(c) In consequence of this treaty, all troops in the field were to be disbanded. Cleombrotus, one of the kings of Sparta, was then at Phocis, at the head of the army. He wrote to the Ephori to know the republic's resolutions. Prothous, one of the principal senators, represented, that there was no room for deliberations; for that Sparta, by the late agreement, had made the recall of the troops indispensable. Agesilaus was of a different opinion. Angry with the Thebans, and particularly with Epaminondas, he was absolutely bent on the war for an opportunity of revenge; and the present seemed most favourable, when all Greece was free and united, and only the Thebans excluded the treaty of peace. The advice of Prothous was therefore rejected by the whole council, \* who treated him as an honest well-meaning dotard that knew nothing

(c) Xenoph. l. vi. p. 593---597.; Diod. l. xv. p. 365---371.; Plut. in Agesil. p. 611, 612. Id. in Pelop. p. 288, 289.

\* Ἐκείνον μὲν φλυαρεῖν ἠγασατο, ὅτι γὰρ ὡς οὐκ τὸ δαίμονιον ἦν.

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of the matter ; the Divinity, from thenceforth, as Xenophon observes, promoting their downfall. The Ephori wrote immediately to Cleombrotus to march against the Thebans with his troops; and sent orders at the same time to all their allies to assemble their forces, who were very averse to this war, and did not join in it but with great reluctance, and out of fear of contradicting the Lacedaemonians, whom they did not yet dare to disobey. Though no happy consequences could be expected from a war, visibly undertaken contrary to all reason and justice, and from the sole motive of resentment and revenge ; the Lacedaemonians, however, from the superiority of their numbers, assured themselves of success, and imagined that the Thebans, abandoned by their allies, were in no condition to oppose them.

(d) The Thebans were much alarmed at first. They saw themselves alone, without allies or support, whilst all Greece looked upon them as utterly lost ; not knowing that in a single man they had more than armies. This was Epaminondas. He was appointed general, and had several colleagues joined in commission with him. He immediately raised all the troops he could, and began his march. His army did not amount to six thousand men, and the enemy had above four times that number. As several bad omens were told him to prevent his setting out, he replied only by a verse of Homer's, of which the sense is, \* *There is but one good omen, to fight for one's country.* However, to re-assure the soldiers, by nature superstitious, and whom he observed to be discouraged, he instructed several persons to come from different places, and report auguries and omens in his favour ; which revived the spirit and hopes of the troops.

Pelopidas was not then in office, but commanded the sacred battalion. When he left his house to go to the army, his wife, in taking her last adieu, conjured him with a flood of tears to take care of himself : *That*, said he, *should be recommended to young people ; but for generals,*

(d) A. M. 3634. Ant. J. C. 370.

\* Εἰς οὐδὲν ἀριστὸν, ἀμυνέσθαι ὑπὲρ πατρὸς.

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*they have no occasion for such advice, the care of others should be recommended to them.*

Epaminondas had wisely taken care to secure a pass, by which Cleombrotus might have shortened his march considerably. The latter, after having taken a large compass, arrived at Leuctra, a small town of Boeotia, between Plataea and Thespiae. Both parties consulted whether they should give battle; which Cleombrotus resolved by the advice of all his officers, who represented to him, that if he declined fighting with such a superiority of troops, it would confirm the current report, that he secretly favoured the Thebans. The latter had an essential reason for hastening a battle before the arrival of the troops which the enemy daily expected. However, the six generals, who formed the council of war, differed in their sentiments. The seventh, who was Epaminondas, came in very good time to join the three that were for fighting; and his opinion carrying the question, the battle was resolved upon. This was in the second year of the 182d Olympiad.

The two armies were very unequal in number. That of the Lacedaemonians, as has been said, consisted of twenty-four thousand foot, and sixteen hundred horse. The Thebans had only six thousand foot and four hundred horse; but all of them choice troops, animated by their experience of the war, and determined to conquer or die. The Lacedaemonian cavalry, composed of men picked up by chance, without valour, and ill disciplined, was as much inferior to their enemies in courage, as superior in number. The infantry could not be depended on, except the Lacedaemonians; the allies, as has been said, having engaged in the war with reluctance, because they did not approve the motive of it, and were besides dissatisfied with the Lacedaemonians.

The ability of the generals on either side supplied the place of numerous armies, especially of the Theban, who was the most accomplished captain of his times. He was supported by Pelopidas at the head of *the sacred battalion*, composed of three hundred Thebans, united in a strict friendship and affection, and engaged under a par-

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ticalar oath never to fly, but to defend each other to the last drop of their blood.

Upon the day of battle the two armies drew up on a plain. Cleombrotus was upon the right, consisting of Lacedaemonians, on whom he confided most, and whose files were twelve deep. To take the advantage, which his superiority of horse gave him in an open country, he posted them in the front of his Lacedaemonians. Archidamus, Agefilaus's son, was at the head of the allies, who formed the left wing.

Epaminondas, who resolved to charge with his left, which he commanded in person, strengthened it with the choice of his heavy-armed troops, whom he drew up fifty deep. *The sacred battalion* was upon his left, and closed the wing. The rest of his infantry were posted upon his right in an oblique line, which, the farther it extended, was the more distant from the enemy. By this uncommon disposition, his design was to cover his flank on the right, to keep off his right wing as a kind of reserved body, that he might not hazard the event of the battle upon the weakest part of his army; and to begin the action with his left wing, where his best troops were posted, to turn the whole weight of the battle upon King Cleombrotus and the Spartans. He was assured, that if he could penetrate the Lacedaemonian phalanx, the rest of the army would soon be put to the rout. As for his horse, he disposed them after the enemy's example, in the front of his left.

The action began by the cavalry. As that of the Thebans were better mounted, and braver troops than the Lacedaemonian horse, the latter were not long before they were broke, and driven upon the infantry, which they put into some confusion. Epaminondas following his horse close, marched swiftly up to Cleombrotus, and fell upon his phalanx with all the weight of his heavy battalion. The latter, to make a diversion, detached a body of troops with orders to take Epaminondas in flank, and to surround him. Pelopidas, upon the sight of that movement, advanced with incredible speed and boldness, at the head of *the sacred battalion*, to prevent the enemy's design, and flank-

ed Cleombrotus himself, who, by that sudden and unexpected attack, was put into disorder. The battle was very rude and obstinate; and whilst Cleombrotus could act, the victory continued in suspense, and declared for neither party. When he fell dead with his wounds, the Thebans, to complete the victory, and the Lacedaemonians, to avoid the shame of abandoning the body of their King, redoubled their efforts, and a great slaughter ensued on both sides. The Spartans fought with so much fury about the body, that at length they gained their point, and carried it off. Animated by so glorious an advantage, they prepared to return to the charge, which would perhaps have proved successful, had the allies seconded their ardor. But the left wing, seeing the Lacedaemonian phalanx had been broke, and believing all lost, especially when they heard that the King was dead, took to flight, and drew off the rest of the army along with them. Epaminondas followed them vigorously, and killed a great number in the pursuit. The Thebans remained masters of the field of battle, erected a trophy, and permitted the enemy to bury their dead.

The Lacedaemonians had never received such a blow. The most bloody defeats till then, had scarce ever cost them more than four or five hundred of their citizens. They had been seen, however animated, or rather violently incensed against Athens, to ransom, by a truce of thirty years, eight hundred of their citizens, who had suffered themselves to be shut up in the little island of Sphacteria. Here they lost four thousand men, of whom one thousand were Lacedaemonians, and four hundred \* Spartans, out of seven hundred who were in the battle. The Thebans had only three hundred men killed, among whom were few of their citizens.

The city of Sparta celebrated at that time the gymnical games, and was full of strangers, whom curiosity had brought thither. When the couriers arrived from Leuctra with the terrible news of their defeat, the Ephori, though perfectly sensible of all the consequences, and that the Spartan empire had received a mortal wound, would not per-

\* Those were properly called Spartans, who inhabited Sparta; the Lacedaemonians were settled in the country.

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mit the representations of the theatre to be suspended, nor any changes in the celebration of the festival. They sent to every family the names of their relations, who were killed, and staid in the theatre to see that the dances and games were continued without interruption to the end.

The next day in the morning, the loss of each family being known, the fathers and relations of those who had died in the battle, met in the public place, and saluted and embraced each other with great joy and serenity in their looks; whilst the others kept themselves close in their houses, or if necessity obliged them to go abroad, it was with a sadness and dejection of aspect, which sensibly expressed their profound anguish and affliction. That difference was still more remarkable in the women. Grief, silence, tears, distinguished those who expected the return of their sons; but such as had lost their sons, were seen hurrying to the temples to thank the gods, and congratulating each other upon their glory and good fortune. It cannot be denied, but such sentiments argue great courage and resolution; but I would not have them entirely extinguish natural tenderness, and should have been better pleased, had there been less of \* ferocity in them.

Sparta was under no small difficulty to know how to act in regard to those who had fled from the battle. As they were numerous, and of the most powerful families in the city. It was not safe to inflict upon them the punishments assigned by the laws, lest their despair should induce them to take some violent resolution fatal to the state. For such as fled were not only excluded from all offices and employments, but it was a disgrace to contract any alliance with them by marriage. Any body that met them in the streets might buffet them, which they were obliged to suffer. They were, besides, to wear dirty and ragged habits, full of patches of different colours. And lastly, they

\* Mr. Rollin seems to speak here en Francois. The sentiments of the Spartans have no exception, and are strictly consistent with true greatness of soul. None but slaves will deny, that the next glory and good fortune to defending their country against its enemies, when its ruin is at stake, is to die in its defence. Slaves have no country. That and themselves are the tyrants.



were to shave half their beards, and to let the other half grow. It was a great loss to the Spartans to be deprived of so many of their soldiery, at a time when they had such pressing occasion for them. To remove this difficulty, they chose Agesilaus legislator, with absolute power to make such alterations in the laws as he should think fit. Agesilaus, without adding, retrenching, or changing any thing, found means to save the fugitives, without prejudice to the state. In a full assembly of the Lacedaemonians he decreed, *That for the present day, the laws should be suspended, and of no effect, but ever after to remain in full force and authority.* By those few words he preserved the Spartan laws entire, and at the same time restored to the state that great number of its members, in preventing their being for ever degraded, and consequently useless to the republic.

(e) After the battle of Leuctra the two parties were industriously employed, the one in retrieving, and the other in improving their victory.

(f) Agesilaus, to revive the courage of his troops, marched them into Arcadia; but with a full resolution carefully to avoid a battle. He confined himself to attacking some small towns of the Mantinaeans; which he took, and laid the country waste. This gave Sparta some joy; and they began to take courage, from believing their condition not entirely desperate.

The Thebans, soon after this victory, sent an account of it to Athens, and to demand aid at the same time against the common enemy. The senate was then sitting, which received the courier with great coldness, did not make him the usual presents, and dismissed him without taking any notice of aid. The Athenians, alarmed at the considerable advantage which the Thebans had gained over the Lacedaemonians, could not dissemble the umbrage and dissatisfaction which so sudden and unexpected an increase of a neighbouring power gave them, which might soon render itself formidable to all Greece.

At Thebes, Epaminondas and Pelopidas had been elect-

(e) Xenoph. l. vi. p. 598.; Diod. l. xv. p. 375---378.

(f) Plut. in Agefil. p. 613---615.; Id. in Pelop. p. 290.

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ed joint governors of Boeotia. Having assembled all the troops of the Boeotians, and their allies, whose number daily increased, they entered Peloponnesus, and made a-bundance of places and people revolt from the Lacedaemonians, Elis, Argos, Arcadia, and the greatest part of Laconia itself. It was then about the winter-solstice, and towards the end of the last month of the year; so that in a few days they were to quit their offices; the first day of the next month being assigned by law, for their resigning them to the persons appointed to succeed them, upon pain of death, if they held them beyond that term. Their colleagues, apprehending the badness of the season, and more, the dreadful consequences of infringing that law, were for marching back the army immediately to Thebes. Pelopidas was the first, who, entering into the opinion of Epaminondas, animated the citizens, and engaged them to take the advantage of the enemy's alarm, and to pursue their enterprize, in neglect of a formality, from the observance of which they might justly believe themselves dispensed by the state itself, as the service of the state, when founded in justice; is the sovereign law and rule of the people's obedience.

They entered Laconia therefore at the head of an army of seventy thousand good soldiers, of which the twelfth part were not Thebans. The great reputation of the two generals was the cause, that all the allies, even without order or public decree, obeyed them with respectful silence and marched with entire confidence and courage under their command. It was six hundred years since the Dorians had established themselves at Lacedaemon, and in all that time had never seen an enemy upon their lands; none daring till then to set foot in them, and much less to attack their city though without walls, the Thebans and their allies, finding a country hitherto untouched by an enemy, ran thro' it with fire and sword, destroying and plundering as far as the river Eurotas, without any opposition whatsoever.

Parties had been posted to defend some important passes. Ischolas the Spartan, who commanded one of these detachments, distinguished himself in a peculiar manner. Finding it impossible, with his small body of troops, to

support the enemy's attack, and thinking it below a Spartan to abandon his post, he sent back the young men, who were of age and condition to serve their country effectually, and kept none with him but such as were advanced in years. With these, devoting himself, after the example of Leonidas, to the public good, they sold their lives dear; and after having defended themselves a long time, and made a great slaughter of their enemies, they all perished to a man.

Agésilæus acted upon this occasion with great address and wisdom. He looked upon this irruption of the enemy as an impetuous torrent, which it was not only in vain but dangerous, to oppose; whose rapid course would be but of short duration, and, after some ravages, subside of itself. He contented himself with distributing his best troops into the middle, and all the most important parts of the city, strongly securing all the posts. He was determined not to quit the town, nor to hazard a battle; and persisted in that resolution, without regard to all the raillery, insults, and menaces of the Thebans, who defied him by name, called upon him to come out and defend his country, who had alone been the cause of all its sufferings, in kindling the war.

But far greater afflictions to Agésilæus were the commotions and disorders excited within the city, the murmurs and complaints of the old men, in the highest affliction and despair, from being witnesses of what they saw, as well as of the women, who seemed quite distracted with hearing the threatening cries of the enemy, and seeing the neighbouring country all on fire, whilst the flames and smoke, which drove almost upon them, seemed to denounce a like misfortune to themselves. Whatever courage Agésilæus might express in his outward behaviour, he could not fail of being sensibly affected with so mournful an object, to which was added the grief of losing his reputation; who having found the city in a most flourishing and potent condition, when he came to the government, now saw it fallen to such a degree, and all its antient glory lost under him! He was besides secretly mortified, at so mournful a contradiction of a boast he had often made, *That no wo-*

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*man of Sparta had ever seen the smoke of an enemy's camp.*

Whilst he was giving different orders in the city, he was informed, that a certain number of mutineers had seized an important post, with a resolution to defend themselves in it. Agesilaus ran immediately thither; and, as if he had been entirely unacquainted with their bad design, he said to to them, *Comrades, it is not there I sent you.* At the same time, he pointed to different posts, to divide them; to which they went, believing their enterprize had not been discovered. This order, which he gave without emotion, argues a great presence of mind in Agesilaus; and shews, that, in times of trouble, it is not proper to see too much, that the culpable may not want time to reflect and repent. He thought it more adviseable, to suppose that small troop innocent, than to urge them to a declared revolt, by a too rigorous inquiry.

The Eurotas was at that time very much swollen, by the melting of the snows, and the Thebans found more difficulty in passing it than they expected, as well from the extreme coldness of the water, as its rapidity. As Epaminondas passed at the head of his infantry, some of the Spartans shewed him to Agesilaus; who, after having attentively considered and followed him with his eyes a long time, said only, † *Wonderful man!* in admiration of the valour that could undertake such great things. Epaminondas would have been glad to have given battle in Sparta, and to have erected a trophy in the midst of it. He did not however think proper to attempt the forcing of the city; and not being able to induce Agesilaus to quit it, chose to retire. It would have been difficult for Sparta, without aid, and unfortified, to have defended itself long against a victorious army. But the wise captain who commanded it, apprehended, that he should draw upon his hands the whole force of Peloponnesus, and still more, that he should excite the jealousy of the Greeks, who would never have pardoned his destroying so potent a republic, and *pulling out*, as Leptinus says, *one of the eyes of Greece*,

† Ω το μεγαλοπραγμονος ανθρωπου, the Greek expression is not easy to be translated. It signifies, Oh the actor of great deeds!



as a proof of his skill (g). He confined himself therefore to the glory of having humbled the proud, whose laconic language added new haughtiness to their commands, and of having reduced them to the necessity, as he boasted himself, of enlarging their style, and lengthening their \* monosyllables. At his return, he again wasted the country.

(h) In this expedition, the Thebans re-instated Arcadia into one body, and took Messenia from the Spartans, who had been in possession of it † very long, after having expelled all its inhabitants. It was a country equal in extent to Laconia, and as fertile as the best in Greece. Its antient inhabitants, who were dispersed in different regions of Greece, Italy, and Sicily, on the first notice given them, returned with incredible joy; animated by the love of their country natural to all men, and almost as much by their hatred of the Spartans, which the length of time had only increased. They built themselves a city, which, from the antient name, was called *Messene*. Amongst the bad events of this war, none gave the Lacedaemonians more sensible displeasure, or rather more lively grief; because, from immemorial time, an irreconcilable enmity had subsisted between Sparta and Messene, which seemed incapable of being extinguished but by the final ruin of the one or the other.

(i) Polybius reflects upon an antient error in the conduct of the Messenians, with regard to Sparta, which was the cause of all their misfortunes. This was their too great solicitude for the present tranquillity, and, through an excessive love of peace, their neglecting the means of making it sure and lasting. Two of the most powerful states of Greece were their neighbours, the Arcadians and Lacedae-

(g) Arist. Rhet. l. iii. c. 10.

(h) Paus. l. iv. p. 267, 268.

(i) Polyb. l. iv. p. 299, 300.

\* The Lacedaemonians sometimes answered the most important dispatches by a single monosyllable. Philip having wrote to them, If I enter your country, I shall put all to fire and sword; they replied, If; to signify they should take all possible care to put it out of his power.

† The Messenians had been driven out of their country two hundred and eighty seven years.

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monians. The latter, from their first settlement in the country, had declared open war against them : the other, on the contrary, always joined with them, and entered into all their interests. But the Messenians had neither the courage to oppose their violent and irreconcilable enemies with valour and constancy, nor the prudence to treat with due regard their faithful and affectionate allies. When the two states were either at war with each other, or carried their arms elsewhere, the Messenians, little provident for the future, and regarding only their present repose, made it a rule with them never to engage in the quarrel on either side, and to observe an exact neutrality. On such conjunctures, they congratulated themselves upon their wisdom and success in preserving their tranquillity, whilst their neighbours all around them were involved in trouble and confusion. But this tranquillity was of no long duration. The Lacedaemonians, having subdued their enemies, fell upon them with all their forces; and finding them unsupported by allies, and incapable of defending themselves, they reduced them to submit; either to the yoke of a rigid slavery, or to banish themselves from their country. And this was several times their case. They ought to have reflected, says Polybius, \* that as there is nothing more desirable and advantageous than peace, when founded in justice and honour; so there is nothing more shameful, and at the same time more pernicious, when attained by bad measures, and purchased at the price of liberty.

SECT. V. *The two Theban generals, at their return, are accused, and absolved. Sparta implores aid of the Athenians. The Greeks send ambassadors to Artaxerxes. Credit of Pelopidas at the court of Persia.*

IT might be expected, that the two Theban captains, on return to their country, after such memorable actions, should have been received with the general applause, and all the honours that could be conferred upon them. Instead of which, they were both summoned to answer as

\* Εἰρηνη γὰρ, μετὰ μὲν τοῦ δίκαιου καὶ προσηνούς, καλλίστην ἐστὶ κτήματι καὶ λυσίτελιστατον· μετὰ δὲ κακίας ἢ δουλίας ἐκονιδίστη, πάντων αἰσχρότατον καὶ ἐλαβρότατον.

criminals against the state; in having, contrary to the law, whereby they were obliged to resign their command to new officers, retained it four months beyond the appointed term; during which they had executed in Messenia, Arcadia, and Laconia, all those great things we have related.

A behaviour of this kind is surprizing, and the relation of it cannot be read without a secret indignation. But such a conduct had a very plausible foundation. The zealous assertors of a liberty lately regained, were apprehensive that the example might prove very pernicious, in authorising some future magistrate to maintain himself in command beyond the established term, and, in consequence, to turn his arms against his country. It is not to be doubted, but the Romans would have acted in the same manner; and if they were so severe, to put an officer to death, though victorious, for giving battle without his general's orders; how would they have behaved to a general, who should have continued four months in the supreme command, contrary to the laws, and upon his own authority?

(k) Pelopidas was the first cited before the tribunal. He defended himself with less force and greatness of mind than was expected from a man of his character, by nature warm and fiery. That valour, haughty and intrepid in fight, forsook him before the judges. His air and discourse, which had something timid and creeping in it, denoted a man who was afraid of death, and did not in the least incline the judges in his favour, who acquitted him not without difficulty. Epaminondas appeared, and spoke with a quite different air and tone. He seemed, if I may be allowed the expression, to charge danger in front without emotion. Instead of justifying himself, he made a panegyric upon his actions, and repeated, in a lofty style, in what manner he had ravaged Laconia, re-established Messenia, and re-united Arcadia in one body. He concluded with saying, that he should die with pleasure, if the Thebans would renounce the sole glory of those actions to him, and declare that he had done them by his own authority, and without their participation. All the voices were

(k) Plut. de sui laude, p. 540.

in his favour; and he returned from his trial, as he used to return from battle, with glory and universal applause. Such dignity has true valour, that it in a manner seizes the admiration of mankind by force.

He was by nature designed for great actions, and every thing he did had an air of grandeur in it. (l) His enemies, jealous of his glory, and with design to affront him, got him elected *Telexarch*; an office very unworthy of a person of his merit. He however thought it no dishonour to him, and said, that he would demonstrate, that \* *the office did not only shew the man, but the man the office*. He accordingly raised that employment to very great dignity, which before consisted only in taking care that the streets were kept clean, the dirt carried away, and the drains and common shores in good order.

(m) The Lacedaemonians having every thing to fear from an enemy, whom the late successes had rendered still more haughty and enterprising than ever, and seeing themselves exposed every moment to a new irruption, had recourse to the Athenians, and sent deputies to them to implore their aid. The person who spoke, began with describing in the most pathetic terms the deplorable condition and extreme danger to which Sparta was reduced. He enlarged upon the insolent haughtiness of the Thebans, and of their ambitious views, which tended to nothing less than the empire of all Greece. He insinuated what Athens in particular had to fear, if they were suffered to extend their power by the increase of allies, who every day went over to their party, and augmented their forces. He called to mind the happy times, in which the strict union betwixt Athens and Sparta had preserved Greece, to the equal glory of both states; and concluded with saying, how great an addition it would be to the Athenian name, to aid a city, an ancient friend and ally, which more than once had generously sacrificed itself for the common interest and safety.

The Athenians could not deny all that the deputy ad-

(l) Plut. de præcept. reip. ger. p. 811. (m) Xenoph. l. vi. p. 9--613.

\* Ου μοι αρεστη ανδρα δεικνυσιν, αλλα και αρεστη αυτη.



vanced in his discourse ; but at the same time they had not forgot the bad treatment which they had suffered from the Spartans on more than one occasion, and especially after the defeat of Sicily. However, their compassion of the present misfortunes of Sparta carried it against the sense of the former injuries, and determined them to assist the Lacedaemonians with all their forces. (n) Some time after, the deputies of several states being assembled at Athens, a league and confederacy was concluded against the Thebans, conformably to the late treaty of Antalcides, and the intention of the King of Persia, who continually made instances for its execution.

(o) A slight advantage gained by the Spartans over their enemies, raised them from the dejection of spirit in which they had hitherto remained, as it generally happens, when in a mortal distemper the least glimpse of a recovery enlivens hope and recalls joy. Archidamus, son of Agésilas, having received aid from Dionysius the younger, tyrant of Sicily, put himself at the head of his troops, and defeated the Arcadians in a battle, called *the battle without tears* (p), because he did not lose a man, and killed a great number of the enemy. The Spartans before had been so much accustomed to conquer, that they became insensible to the pleasure of victory ; but when the news of this battle arrived, and they saw Archidamus return victorious, they could not contain their joy, nor keep within the city. His father was the first that went out to meet him, weeping with joy and tenderness. He was followed by the great officers and magistrates. The croud of old men and women came down as far as the river, lifting up their hands to heaven, and returning thanks to the gods, as if this action had obliterated the shame of Sparta, and they began to see those happy days again, in which the Spartan glory and reputation had rose so high.

(q) Philiscus, who had been sent by the King of Persia to reconcile the Grecian states, was arrived at Delphos, whither he summoned their deputies to repair. The god

(n) Xenoph. l. vii. p. 613--616. (o) Plut. in Agésil. p. 614. 615. Xenoph. l. vii. p. 619, 620. (p) Diod. l. xv. p. 383.

(q) Xenoph. l. vii. p. 619. Diod. l. xv. p. 381.

was not at all consulted in the affair discussed in that assembly. The Spartans demanded that Messene and its inhabitants should return to their obedience to them. Upon the Thebans refusal to comply with that demand, the assembly broke up, and Philiscus retired, after having left considerable sums of money with the Lacedaemonians for levying troops and carrying on the war. Sparta, reduced and humbled by its losses, was no longer the object of the Persians fear or jealousy; but Thebes, victorious and triumphant, gave them just cause of inquietude.

(r) To form a league against Thebes with greater certainty, the allies had sent deputies to the great King. The Thebans, on their side, deputed Pelopidas; an extremely wise choice, from the great reputation of the ambassador, which is no indifferent circumstance in respect to the success of a negotiation. The battle of Leuctra had spread his fame into the remotest provinces of Asia. When he arrived at the court, and appeared amongst the princes and nobility, they cried out in admiration of him, *This is he who deprived the Lacedaemonians of their empire by sea and land, and reduced Sparta to confine itself between the Eurotas and Taygetus, that not long since, under its King Agesslaus threatened no less than to invade us in Susa and Ecbatana.*

Artaxerxes, extremely pleased with his arrival, paid him extraordinary honours, and piqued himself upon extolling him highly before the lords of his court; in esteem indeed of his great merit, but much more out of vanity and self-love, and to insinuate to his subjects, that the greatest and most illustrious persons made their court to him, and paid homage to his power and good fortune. But after having admitted him to audience, and heard his discourse in his opinion more nervous than that of the Athenian ambassadors, and more simple than that of the Lacedaemonians, which was saying a great deal, he esteemed him more than ever; and as it is \* common with kings, who are but little accustomed to constraint, he did not dissemble his ex-

(r) Xenoph. l. vii. p. 610---612. Plut. in Pelop. p. 194.

\* Πάθος βασιλικὸν πάθος.

treme regard for him, and his preference of him to all the rest of the Grecian deputies.

Pelopidas, as an able politician, had apprised the King, how important it was to the interest of his crown to protect an infant power, which had never born arms against the Persians, and which, in forming a kind of balance between Sparta and Athens, might be able to make an useful diversion against those republics, the perpetual and irreconcilable enemies of Persia, that had lately cost it so many losses and inquietudes. Timagoras, the Athenian, was the best received after him; because, being passionately desirous of humbling Sparta, and at the same time of pleasing the king, he did not appear averse to the views of Pelopidas.

The King having pressed Pelopidas to explain what favours he had to ask of him, he demanded, "That Messene should continue free and exempt from the yoke of Sparta; that the Athenian galleys, which were sailed to infest the coast of Boeotia, should be recalled, or that war should be declared against Athens; that those who would not come into the league, or march against such as should oppose it, should be attacked first." All which was decreed, and the Thebans declared friends and allies of the King. Leon, Timagoras's colleague, said loud enough to be heard by Artaxerxes, *Athens has nothing now to do but to find some other ally.*

Pelopidas, having obtained all he desired, left the court, without accepting any more of the King's many presents than what was necessary to carry home as a token of his favour and good will; and this aggravated the complaints which were made against the other Grecian ambassadors, who were not so reserved and delicate in point of interest. One of those from the Arcadians said on his return home, that he had seen many slaves at the King's court, but no men. He added, that all his magnificence was no more than vain ostentation, and that the so much boasted \* plantain of gold, which was valued at so high a price, had not shade enough under it for a grasshopper.

\* It was a tree of gold, of exquisite workmanship and great value which people went to see out of curiosity.

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Of all the deputies, Timagoras had received the most presents. He did not only accept of gold and silver, but of a magnificent bed, and slaves to make it, the Greeks not seeming to him expert enough in that office; which shews that sloth and luxury were little in fashion at Athens. He received also twenty-four cows, with slaves to take care of them; as having occasion to drink milk for some indisposition. Lastly, at his departure, he was carried in a chair to the sea-side at the King's expence, who gave four talents (s) for that service. His colleague Leon, on their arrival at Athens, accused him of not having communicated any thing to him, and of having joined with Pelopidas in every thing. He was brought to a trial in consequence, and condemned to suffer death.

It does not appear, that the acceptance of presents incensed the Athenians most against Timagoras. For Epicerates, a simple porter, who had been at the Persian court, and had also received presents having said, in a full assembly, that he was of opinion, a decree ought to pass, by which, instead of the nine Archons annually elected, nine ambassadors should be chosen out of the poorest of the people to be sent to the King, in order to their being enriched by the voyage; the assembly only laughed, and made a jest of it. But what offended them more, was the Thebans having obtained all they demanded. In which, says Plutarch, they did not duly consider the great reputation of Pelopidas, nor comprehend how much stronger and more efficacious that was in persuading than all the harangues and rhetorical flourishes of the other ambassadors; especially with a prince, accustomed to caress, and comply with the strongest, as the Thebans undoubtedly were at that time, and who besides was not sorry to humble Sparta and Athens, the antient and mortal enemies of his throne.

The esteem and regard of the Thebans for Pelopidas were not a little augmented by the good success of this embassy, which had procured the freedom of Greece, and

(s) Four thousand crowns.



the re-establishment of Messene; and he was extremely applauded for his conduct at his return.

But Thessalia was the theatre where the valour of Pelopidas made the greatest figure, in the expedition of the Thebans against Alexander tyrant of Pherae. I shall relate it entire, and unite in one point of view all which relates to that great event, without any other interruption than the journey of Pelopidas into Macedonia, to appease the troubles of that court.

SECT. VI. *Pelopidas marches against Alexander tyrant of Pherae, and reduces him to reason. He goes to Macedonia, to appease the troubles of that court, and brings Philip to Thebes as an hostage. He returns into Thessaly, is seized by treachery, and made prisoner. Epaminondas delivers him. Pelopidas gains a victory against the tyrant, and is killed in the battle. Extraordinary honours paid to his memory. Tragical end of Alexander.*

(1) **T**HE reduced condition of Sparta and Athens, which for many years had lorded it over all Greece, either in conjunction or separately, had inspired some of their neighbours with the desire of supplanting those cities, and given birth to the hope of succeeding them in the pre eminence. A power had rose up in Thessaly, which began to grow formidable. Jason, tyrant of Pherae, had been declared generalissimo of the Thessalians by the consent of the people of that province; and it was to his merit, universally known, he owed that dignity. He was at the head of an army of above eight thousand horse, and twenty thousand heavy-armed foot, without reckoning the light-armed soldiers; and might have undertaken any thing with such a body of disciplined and intrepid troops, who had an entire confidence in the valour and conduct of their general. But death prevented his de-

(1) Xenoph. l. vi. p. 370. 583. & 598. 601. Diod. l. xv. p. 371. ad 373. A. M. 3634. Ant. J. C. 370.

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signs. He was assassinated by persons who had conspired his destruction.

His two brothers, Polydorus and Polyphron, were substituted in his place; the latter of whom killed the other for the sake of reigning alone, and was soon after killed himself by Alexander of Pherae (u), who seized the tyranny, under the pretence of revenging the death of Polydorus his father. Against him Pelopidas was sent.

As the tyrant made open war against several people of Thessaly, and was secretly intriguing to subject them all, the citizens sent ambassadors to Thebes to demand troops and a general. Epaminondas being employed in Peloponnesus, Pelopidas took upon himself the charge of this expedition. He set out for Thessaly with an army, made himself master of Larissa, and obliged Alexander to make a submission to him. He there endeavoured by mild usage and friendship, to change his disposition, and from a tyrant, to make him become a just and humane prince; but finding him incorrigible, and of unexampled brutality, and hearing new complaints every day of his cruelty, debauched life, and insatiable avarice, he began to treat him with warm reproofs and menaces. The tyrant, alarmed at such usage, withdrew secretly with his guard; and Pelopidas, leaving the Thessalians in security from any attempts of his, and in good understanding with each other, set out for Macedonia, where his presence had been desired.

Amyntas II. was lately dead, and had left issue three legitimate children, Alexander, Perdiccas, and Philip; and one natural son, called *Ptolemy*. Alexander reigned but one year, and was succeeded by \* Perdiccas, with whom his brother Ptolemy disputed the crown. The two brothers invited Pelopidas either to be the arbitrator

(u) A. M. 3635, Ant. J. C. 369.

Plutarch makes this quarrel between Alexander and Ptolemy; which cannot agree with Æschines's account (de fals. legat. p. 400.) of the affairs of Perdiccas after Alexander's death, which I shall relate in the history of Philip. As Æschines was their cotemporary, I thought it proper to substitute Perdiccas to Alexander.

and judge of their quarrel, or to espouse the side on which he should see most right.

Pelopidas was no sooner arrived, than he put an end to all disputes, and recalled those who had been banished by either party. Having taken Philip, the brother of Perdiccas, and thirty other children of the noblest families of Macedonia, for hostages, he carried them to Thebes; to shew the Greeks how far the authority of the Thebans extended, from the reputation of their arms, and an entire confidence in their justice and fidelity. It was this Philip, who was father of Alexander the Great, and afterwards made war against the Greeks, to subject them to his power.

The troubles and factions arose again in Macedonia some years after, occasioned by the death of Perdiccas, who was killed in a battle. The friends of the deceased called in Pelopidas. Being desirous to arrive before Ptolemy had time to execute his projects, who made new efforts to establish himself upon the throne; and not having an army, he raised some mercenary troops in haste, with whom he marched against Ptolemy. When they were near each other, Ptolemy found means to corrupt those mercenary soldiers by presents of money, and to bring them over to his side. At the same time, awed by the reputation and name of Pelopidas, he went to meet him as his superior and master, had recourse to caresses and intreaties; and promised, in the most solemn manner, to hold the crown only as guardian to the son of the deceased, to acknowledge as friends and enemies all those who were so to the Thebans; and, in security of his engagements, he gave his son Philoxenus, and fifty other children who were educated with him as hostages. These Pelopidas sent to Thebes.

The treachery of the mercenary soldiers ran very much in his thoughts. He was informed, that they had sent the greatest part of their effects, with their wives and children, into the city \* Pharsalus, and conceived that a fair opportunity for being revenged of them for their perfidy. He therefore drew together some Thessalian troops, and

\* A city of Theffaly,

## PERSIANS and GRECIANS. 279

marched to Pharfalus, where he was scarce arrived, before Alexander the tyrant came against him with a powerful army. Pelopidas, who had been appointed ambassador to him, believing that he came to justify himself, and to answer the complaints of the Thebans, went to him with only Ismenias in his company, without any precaution. He was not ignorant of his being an impious wretch, as void of faith as of honour; but he imagined, that respect for Thebes, and regard to his dignity and reputation, would prevent him from attempting any thing against his person. He was mistaken; for the tyrant, seeing them alone and unarmed, made them both prisoners, and seized Pharfalus.

Polybius exceedingly blames the imprudence of Pelopidas upon this occasion (x). There is in the commerce of society, says he, certain assurances, and as it were ties, of mutual faith, upon which one may reasonably rely: such are the sanctity of oaths, the pledge of wives and children delivered as hostages, and above all, the consistency of the past conduct of those with whom one treats. When, notwithstanding these motives for our confidence, we are deceived, it is a misfortune, but not a fault. But to trust one's self to a known traitor, a reputed villain, is certainly an unpardonable instance of error and temerity.

(y) So black a perfidy filled Alexander's subjects with terror and distrust; who very much suspected, that, after so flagrant an injustice, and so daring a crime, the tyrant would spare no body, and would look upon himself upon all occasions, and with all sorts of people, as a man in despair, that needed no farther regard to his conduct and actions. When the news was brought to Thebes, the Thebans, incensed at so vile an insult, immediately sent an army into Thessaly; and as they were displeased with Epaminondas, upon the groundless suspicion of his having been too favourable to the Lacedaemonians upon a certain occasion, they nominated other generals; so that he served in this expedition only as a private man. The love of his country, and of the public good, extinguished all re-

(x) Polyb. l. viii. p. 512.  
Diod. l. xv. p. 382, 383.

(y) Plut. in Pelop. p. 292, 293.



sentment in the heart of that great man, and would not permit him, as is too common, to abandon its service through any pique of honour, or personal discontent.

The tyrant, however, carried Pelopidas to Pherae, and made a shew of him to all the world at first, imagining that such a treatment would humble his pride, and abate his courage. But Pelopidas, seeing the inhabitants of Pherae in great consternation, perpetually consoled them, advising them not to despair, and assuring them that it would not be long before the tyrant would be punished. He caused him to be told, that it was as imprudent as unjust to torture and put to death every day so many innocent citizens, that had never done him any wrong, and to spare his life, who, he well knew, would no sooner be out of his hands, than he would punish him as his crimes deserved. The tyrant astonished at his greatness of soul, sent to ask him why he took so much pains for death? *It is,* returned the illustrious prisoner, *that thou mayst perish the sooner, by being still more detestable to the gods and men.*

From that time the tyrant gave orders that no body should see or speak to him. But Thebé his wife, the daughter of Jason, who had also been tyrant of Pherae, having heard of the constancy and courage of Pelopidas from those who guarded him, had a curiosity to see and converse with him; and Alexander could not refuse her his permission (2). He loved her tenderly, (if a tyrant may be said to love any body): but, notwithstanding that tenderness, he treated her very cruelly, and was in perpetual distrust even of her. He never went to her apartment without a slave before him with a naked sword in his hand, and sending some of his guard to search every coffer for concealed poniards. Wretched prince, cries Cicero, who could confide more in a slave and a barbarian, than in his own wife!

Thebé therefore desiring to see Pelopidas, found him in a melancholy condition, dressed in a poor habit, his hair and beard neglected, and void of every thing that might

(2) Cic. de Offic. l. ii. n. 25.

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console him in his distress. Not being able to refrain from tears at such a sight, *Ab, unfortunate Pelopidas*, said she, *how I lament your poor wife!* No, *Thebé*, replied he, *it is yourself you should lament, who can suffer such a monster as Alexander without being his prisoner.* Those words touched Thebé to the quick; for it was with extreme reluctance she bore the tyrant's cruelty, violence, and infamous way of living. Hence, going often to see Pelopidas, and frequently bewailing before him the injuries she suffered, she daily conceived new abhorrence for her husband, whilst hatred, and the desire of revenge, grew strong in her heart.

The Theban generals, who had entered Thessaly, did nothing there of any importance, and were obliged by their incapacity and ill conduct, to abandon the country. The tyrant pursued them in their retreat, harassed them shamefully, and killed abundance of their troops. The whole army had been defeated, if the soldiers had not obliged Epaminondas, who served as a private man amongst them, to take upon him the command. Epaminondas, at the head of the cavalry, and light-armed foot, posted himself in the rear; where, sometimes sustaining the enemy's attacks, and sometimes charging them in his turn, he completed the retreat with success, and preserved the Bocotians. The generals, upon their return were each of them fined ten thousand drachma's \*, and Epaminondas substituted in their place. As the public good was his sole view, he overlooked the injurious treatment, and kind of affront which he had received, and had a full amends in the glory that attended so generous and disinterested a conduct.

Some days after, he marched at the head of the army into Thessaly; whither his reputation had preceded him. It had spread already both terror and joy through the whole country; terror amongst the tyrant's friends, whom the very name of Epaminondas dismayed; and joy amongst the people, from the assurance of being speedily delivered from the yoke of the tyranny, and the tyrant punished for

\* About 225 l. Sterling.

all his crimes. But Epaminondas, preferring the safety of Pelopidas to his own glory, instead of carrying on the war with vigour, as he might have done, chose rather to protract it; from the apprehension, that the tyrant, if reduced to despair, like a wild beast, would turn his whole rage upon his prisoner. For he knew the violence and brutality of his nature, which would hearken neither to reason nor justice; and that he took delight in burying men alive; that some he covered with the skins of bears and wild boars, that his dogs might tear them in pieces, or he shoot them to death with arrows. These were his frequent sports and diversions. In the cities of Meliboea and Scotusa \*, which were in alliance with him, he called an assembly of the citizens, and causing them to be surrounded by his guards, he ordered the throats of all their youth to be cut in his presence.

Hearing one day a famous actor perform a part in the Troades of Euripides, he suddenly went out of the theatre, and sent to the actor, to tell him not to be under any apprehension upon that account; for that his leaving the place was not from any discontent in regard to him, but because he was ashamed to let the citizens see him weep at the misfortunes of Hercules and Andromache, who had cut so many of their throats without any compassion.

Though he was little susceptible of pity, he was much so of fear at this time. Amazed at the sudden arrival of Epaminondas, and dazzled with the majesty that surrounded him, he made haste to dispatch persons to him with apologies for his conduct. Epaminondas could not suffer that the Thebans should make either peace or alliance with so wicked a man. He only granted him a truce for thirty days; and after having got Pelopidas and Ismenias out of his hands, he retired with his troops.

(a) Fear is not a master whose lessons make any deep and lasting impression upon the mind of man. The tyrant of Pheræ soon returned to his natural disposition. He ruined several cities of Thessaly, and put garrisons into

(a) Plut. in Pelop. p. 295-298; Xenoph. l. vi. p. 601.

\* Cities of Magnesia,

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those of Phthia, Achaea, and Magnesia. Those cities sent deputies to Thebes to demand a succour of troops, praying that the command of them might be given to Pelopidas; which was granted. He was upon the point of setting out, when there happened a sudden eclipse of the sun, by which the city of Thebes was darkned at noon-day. The dread and consternation was general. Pelopidas knew very well, that this accident had nothing more than natural in it; but he did not think it proper for him to expose seven thousand Thebans against their will, nor to compel them to march in the terror and apprehension with which he perceived they were seized. He therefore gave himself to the Thessalians alone, and taking with him three hundred horse of such Thebans and strangers as would follow him, he departed, contrary to the prohibition of the foothsayers, and the opinion of the most wise and judicious.

He was personally incensed against Alexander, in resentment of the injuries he had received from him. What Thebé his wife had said, and he himself knew, of the general discontent in regard to the tyrant, gave him hopes of finding great divisions in his court, and an universal disposition to revolt. But his strongest motive was the beauty and grandeur of the action in itself. For his sole desire and ambition was, to shew all Greece, that, at the same time the Lacedaemonians sent generals and officers Dionysius the tyrant, and the Athenians, on their part, were in a manner in the pay of Alexander, to whom they had erected a statue of brass, as to their benefactor, the Thebans were the only people, that declared open war against tyranny, and endeavoured to exterminate from amongst the Greeks all unjust and violent government.

After having assembled his army at Pharsalus, he marched against the tyrant; who being apprised that Pelopidas had but few Thebans, and knowing that his own country was twice as strong as that of the Thessalians, advanced to meet him. Pelopidas being told by somebo-

that Alexander approached with a great army: So



*much the better, replied he, we shall beat the greater number.*

Near a place called *Cyncephalus*, there were very high and steep hills, which lay in the midst of the plain. Both armies were in motion to seize that post with their foot, when Pelopidas ordered his cavalry to charge that of the enemy. The horse of Pelopidas broke Alexander's, and whilst they pursued them upon the plain, Alexander appeared suddenly upon the tops of the hills, having outstript the Thessalians; and charging rudely such as endeavoured to force those heights and retrenchments, he killed the foremost, and repulsed the others, whom their wounds obliged to give way. Pelopidas seeing this, recalled his horse, and giving them orders to attack the enemy's foot, he took his buckler, and ran to those who fought upon the hills.

He presently made way through his infantry; and passing in a moment from the rear to the front, revived his soldiers' vigour and courage in such a manner as made the enemies believe themselves attacked by fresh troops. They supported two or three charges with great resolution: but finding Pelopidas's infantry continually gained ground, and that his cavalry were returned from the pursuit to support them, they began to give way, and retired slowly, still making head in their retreat. Pelopidas, seeing the whole army of the enemy from the top of the hills, which, though it was not yet actually put to flight, began to break, and was in great disorder, he stopt for some time, looking about every where for Alexander.

As soon as he perceived him upon his right wing, rallying and encouraging his mercenary soldiers, he could contain himself no longer, but, fired with that view, and abandoning to his sole resentment the care of his life, and the conduct of the battle, he got a great way before his battalions, and ran forwards with all his force, calling upon and defying Alexander. The tyrant made no answer to his defiance; and not daring to wait his coming up, withdrew to hide himself amongst his guards. The battalion standing firm for some time, Pelopidas broke

first ranks, and killed the greatest part of the guards upon the spot. The rest continuing the fight at a distance, pierced his arms and breast at length with their javelins. The Thessalians, alarmed at the danger in which they saw him, made all the haste they could from the tops of the hills to his assistance: but he was fallen dead when they arrived. The infantry, and the Theban horse, returning to the fight against the enemy's main body, put them to flight, and pursued them a great way. The plain was covered with the dead; for more than three thousand of the tyrant's troops were killed.

This action of Pelopidas, though it appears the effect of a consummate valour, is inexcusable, and has been generally condemned, because there is no true valour without wisdom and prudence. The greatest courage is cool and sedate. It spares itself where it ought, and exposes itself when occasion makes it necessary. A general ought to see every thing, and to have every thing in his thoughts. To be in a condition to apply the proper remedy on all occasions, he must not precipitate himself to the danger of being cut off, and of causing the loss of his army by his death.

(b) Euripides, after having said in one of his pieces, that it is highly glorious for a general of an army to obtain the victory, by taking care of his own life, adds, *that it be necessary for him to die, it must be when he renders his life into the hands of virtue*; to signify that only virtue, not passion, anger, or revenge, has a right over the life of a general, and that the first duty of valour is, to preserve him who preserves others.

(c) It is in this sense the saying of Timotheus is so just and estimable. When Chares shewed the Athenians the wounds he had received whilst he was their general, and his shield pierced through with a pike: *And for me, said Timotheus, when I besieged Samos, I was much ashamed to see a dart fall very near me, as having exposed myself like a young man, without necessity, and more than is consistent for the general of so great an army.* Han-

(b) Plat. in Pelop. p. 317.

(c) Ibid. p. 278.

nibal certainly cannot be suspected of fear, and yet it has been observed, that in the great number of battles which he fought he never received any wound, except only at the siege of Saguntum.

It is therefore not without reason, that Pelopidas is reproached with having sacrificed all his other virtues to his valour, by such a prodigality of his life, and with having died rather for himself than for his country.

Never was captain more lamented than him. His death changed the victory so lately gained into mourning. A profound silence and universal affliction reigned throughout the whole army, as if it had been entirely defeated. When his body was carried to Thebes, from every city by which it passed, the people of all ages and sexes, the magistrates and priests, came out to meet the bier, and to march in procession before it, carrying crowns, trophies, and armour of gold. The Thessalians, who were at the same time highly afflicted for his death, and equally sensible of their obligations to him, made in their request, that they might be permitted to celebrate, at their sole expence, the obsequies of a general who had devoted himself for their preservation; and that honourable privilege could not be refused to their grateful zeal.

His funeral was magnificent, especially in the sincere affliction of the Thebans and Thessalians. For, says Plutarch, the external pomp of mourning, and those marks of sorrow which may be imposed by the public authority upon the people, are not always certain proofs of their real sentiments. The tears which flow in private as well as public; the regret expressed equally by great and small, the praises given by the general and unanimous voice to a person who is no more, and from whom nothing farther is expected, are an evidence not to be questioned, and an homage never paid but to virtue. Such were the obsequies of Pelopidas; and, in my opinion, nothing more great and magnificent could be imagined.

Thebes was not contented with lamenting Pelopidas, but resolved to avenge him. A small army of seven thousand foot and seven hundred horse were immediately sent

## PERSIANS and GRECIANS. 287.

against Alexander. The tyrant, who had not yet recovered the terror of his defeat, was in no condition to defend himself. He was obliged to restore to the Thessalians the cities he had taken from them, to give the Magnesians, Phtheians, and Achaeans their liberty, to withdraw his garrisons from their country, and to swear that he would always obey the Thebans, and march at their orders against all their enemies.

Such a punishment was very gentle. Nor, says Plutarch, did it appear sufficient to the gods, or proportioned to his crimes: they had reserved one for him worthy of a tyrant. Thebe his wife, who saw with horror and detestation the cruelty and perfidy of her husband, and had not forgot the lessons and advice which Pelopidas had given her, whilst in prison, entered into a conspiracy with her three brothers to kill him. The tyrant's whole palace was full of guards, who kept watch in the night: but he placed little confidence in them; and as his life was in some sort in their hands, he feared them the most of all men. He lay in a high chamber, to which he ascended by a ladder that was drawn up after his entrance. Near this chamber a great dog was chained to guard it. He was exceeding fierce, and knew no body but his master, Thebe, and the slave who fed him.

The time pitched upon for the execution of the plot being arrived, Thebe shut up her brothers during the day-time in an apartment near the tyrant's. When he entered it at night, as he was full of meat and wine, he fell into a deep sleep immediately. Thebe went out presently after, and ordered the slave to take away the dog, that he might not disturb her husband's repose; and lest the ladder should make a noise when her brothers came up by it, she covered the steps of it with wool. All things being thus prepared, she made her brothers ascend, armed with daggers; who, when they came to the door, were seized with terror, and would go no further. Tebe, quite out of her wits, threatened to awake the tyrant if they did not proceed immediately, and to discover the plot to him. Their



shame and fear re-animated them: She made them enter, led them to the bed, and held the lamp herself, whilst they killed him with repeated wounds. The news of his death was immediately spread through the city. His dead body was exposed to all sort of outrages, trampled under foot by the people, and given for a prey to the dogs and vultures: A just reward for his violent oppressions, and detestable cruelties.

SECT. VII. *Epaminondas is chosen general of the Thebans. His second attempt against Sparta. His celebrated victory at Mantinea. His death and character.*

(d) **T**HE extraordinary prosperity of Thebes was no small subject of alarm to the neighbouring states. Every thing was at that time in motion in Greece. A new war had sprung up between the Arcadians and the Eleans, which had occasioned another between the Arcadians themselves. The people of Tegea had called in the Thebans to their aid, and those of Mantinea, the Spartans and Athenians. There were besides several other allies on each side. The former gave Epaminondas the command of their troops, who immediately entered Arcadia, and encamped at Tegea, with design to attack the Mantineans, who had quitted their alliance with Thebes to attach themselves to Sparta.

Being informed that Agesilaus had begun his march with his army, and advanced towards Mantinea, he formed an enterprize, which, he believed, would immortalize his name, and entirely reduce the power of the enemy. He left Tegea in the night with his army, unknown to the Mantineans, and marched directly to Sparta by a different route from that of Agesilaus. He would undoubtedly have taken the city by surprize, as it had neither walls, defence, nor troops: but happily for Sparta, a Cretan having made all possible haste to apprise Agesilaus of his design, he immediately dispatched one of his horse to advise the city of

(d) A. M. 3641. Ant. J. C. 363. Xenoph. l. vii. p. 641-644; Plut. in Agesil. p. 613; Diod. l. xv. p. 391, 392.

the danger that threatened it, and arrived there soon after in person.

He had scarce entered the town, when the Thebans were seen passing the Eurotas, and coming on against the city. Epaminondas, who perceived that his design was discovered, thought it incumbent on him not to retire without some attempt. (c) He therefore made his troops advance, and making use of valour instead of stratagem, he attacked the city at several quarters, penetrated as far as the public place, and seized that part of Sparta which lay upon the side of the river. Agefilaus made head every where, and defended himself with much more valour than could be expected from his years. He saw well, that it was not now a time, as before, to spare himself, and to act only upon the defensive; but that he had need of all his courage and daring, and to fight with all the vigour of despair; means, which he had never used, nor placed his confidence in before, but which he employed with great success in the present dangerous emergency. For, by this happy despair and prudent audacity, he in a manner snatched the city out of the hands of Epaminondas. His son Archidamus, at the head of the Spartan youth, behaved with incredible valour where-ever the danger was greatest, and with his small troops stopt the enemy, and made head against them on all sides.

A young Spartan named *Isadar*, distinguished himself particularly in this action. He was very handsome in the face, perfectly well shaped, of an advantageous stature, and in the flower of his youth. He had neither armour nor cloaths upon his body, which shone with oil, and held a spear in one hand, and a sword in the other. In this condition he quitted his house with the utmost eagerness, and breaking through the press of the Spartans that fought, he threw himself upon the enemy, gave mortal wounds at every blow, and laid all at his feet who opposed him, without receiving any hurt himself; whether the enemy were dismayed at so astonishing a sight, or, says Plutarch, the gods took pleasure in preserving him upon account of his ex-

(c) Polyb. l. ix. p. 347.

traordinary valour. It is said, the Ephori decreed him a crown after the battle in honour of his exploits, but afterwards fined him in a thousand drachma's (f) for having exposed himself to so great a danger without arms.

Epaminondas having failed of his aim, foreseeing that the Arcadians would certainly hasten to the relief of Sparta, and not being willing to have them with all the Lacedaemonian forces upon his hands at the same time, he returned with expedition to Tegea. The Lacedaemonians and Athenians, with their allies, followed him close in the rear.

(g) That general, considering his command was upon the point of expiring; that if he did not fight, his reputation might suffer extremely; and that immediately after his retreat, the enemy would fall upon the Theban allies, and entirely ruin them, he gave orders to his troops to hold themselves in readiness for battle.

The Greeks had never fought amongst themselves with more numerous armies. The Lacedaemonians consisted of more than twenty thousand foot, and two thousand horse; the Thebans, of thirty thousand foot and three thousand horse. Upon the right wing of the former, the Mantineans, Arcadians, and Lacedaemonians, were posted in one line; the Eleans and Achaeans, who were the weakest of their troops, had the centre, and the Athenians alone composed the left wing. In the other army, the Thebans and Arcadians were on the left, the Argives on the right, and the other allies in the centre. The cavalry on each side were disposed in the wings.

The Theban general marched in the same order of battle, in which he intended to fight, that he might not be obliged, when he came up with the enemy, to lose, in the disposition of his army, a time which cannot be too much saved in great enterprizes.

He did not march directly, and with his front to the enemy, but in a column upon the hills, with his left wing foremost, as if he did not intend to fight that day. When he was over-against them at a quarter of a league's distance he made his troops halt and lay down their arms, as if

(f) Five hundred livres.

(g) Xenoph. l. vii. p. 645--647.

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he designed to incamp there. The enemy in effect were deceived by that stand; and reckoning no longer upon a battle, they quitted their arms, dispersed themselves about the camp, and suffered that ardor to extinguish, which the near approach of a battle is wont to kindle in the hearts of the soldiers.

Epaminondas, however, by suddenly wheeling his troops to the right, having changed his column into a line, and having drawn out the choice troops, whom he had expressly posted in front upon his march, he made them double their files upon the front of his left wing, to add to its strength, and to put it into a condition to attack in a point the Lacedaemonian phalanx, which, by the movement he had made, faced it directly. He ordered the centre and right wing of his army to move very slow, and to halt before they came up with the enemy, that he might not hazard the event of the battle upon troops of which he had no great opinion.

He expected to decide the victory by that body of chosen troops, which he commanded in person, and which he had formed in a column to attack the enemy in a point like a galley, says Xenophon. He assured himself, that if he could penetrate the Lacedaemonian phalanx, in which the enemy's principal force consisted, he should not find it difficult to rout the rest of their army, by charging upon the right and left with his victorious troops.

But that he might prevent the Athenians in the left wing from coming to the support of their right against his intended attack, he made a detachment of his horse and foot advance out of the line, and posted them upon the rising ground in a readiness to flank the Athenians; as well to cover his right, as to alarm them, and give them reason to apprehend being taken in flank and rear themselves, if they advanced to sustain their right.

After having disposed his whole army in this manner, he moved on to charge the enemy with the whole weight of his column. They were strangely surprised when they saw Epaminondas advance towards them in this order, and



refused their arms, bridled their horses, and made all the haste they could to their ranks.

Whilst Epaminondas marched against the enemy, the cavalry that covered his flank on the left, the best at that time in Greece, entirely composed of Thebans and Thesalians, had orders to attack the enemy's horse. The Theban general, whom nothing escaped, had artfully bestowed bowmen, slingers, and dartmen, in the intervals of his horse; in order to begin the disorder of the enemy's cavalry, by a previous discharge of a shower of arrows, stones, and javelins, upon them. The other army had neglected to take the same precaution; and had made another fault, not less considerable, in giving as much depth to the squadrons, as if they had been a phalanx. By this means their horse were incapable of supporting long the charge of the Thebans. After having made several ineffectual attacks with great loss, they were obliged to retire behind their infantry.

In the mean time, Epaminondas, with his body of foot, had charged the Lacedaemonian phalanx. The troops fought on both sides with incredible ardor; both the Thebans and Lacedaemonians being resolved to perish rather than yield the glory of arms to their rivals. They began by fighting with the spear, and those first arms being soon broken in the fury of the combat, they charged each other sword in hand. The resistance was equally obstinate, and the slaughter very great on both sides. The troops despising danger, and desiring only to distinguish themselves by the greatness of their actions, chose rather to die in their ranks, than to lose a step of their ground.

The furious slaughter on both sides having continued a great while without the victory's inclining to either, Epaminondas, to force it to declare for him, thought it his duty to make an extraordinary effort in person, without regard to the danger of his own life. He formed therefore a troop of the bravest and most determinate about him, and putting himself at the head of them, he made a vigorous charge upon the enemy, where the battle was most warm, and wounded the general of the Lacedaemonians with the

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first javelin he threw. His troop, by his example, having wounded or killed all who stood in their way, broke and penetrated the phalanx. The Lacedaemonians, dismayed by the presence of Epaminondas, and overpowered by the weight of that intrepid party, were reduced to give ground. The gross of the Theban troops, animated by their general's example and success, drove back the enemy upon his right and left, and made a great slaughter of them. But some troops of the Spartans, perceiving that Epaminondas abandoned himself too much to his ardor, suddenly rallied; and returning to the fight, charged him with a shower of javelins. Whilst he kept off part of those darts, shunned some of them, fenced off others, and was fighting with the most heroic valour, to assure the victory to his army, a Spartan, named Callicrates, gave him a mortal wound with a javelin in the breast across his cuirass. The wood of the javelin being broke off, and the iron head continuing in the wound, the torment was insupportable, and he fell immediately. The battle began around him with new fury, the one side using their utmost endeavours to take him alive, and the other to save him. The Thebans gained their point at last, and carried him off, after having put the enemy to flight. They did not pursue them far; and returning immediately, contented themselves with remaining masters of the field, and of the dead, without making any advantage of their victory, or undertaking any thing farther, as if they staid for the orders of their general.

The cavalry, dismayed by the accident of Epaminondas, whom they believed to be dead, and seeming rather vanquished than victorious, neglected to pursue their success in the same manner, and returned to their former post.

Whilst this passed on the left wing of the Thebans, the Athenian horse attacked their cavalry on the right. But as the latter, besides the superiority of number, had the advantage of being seconded by the light infantry posted in their intervals, they charged the Athenians rudely; and having galled them extremely with their darts, they were broke, and obliged to fly. After having dispersed and re-

pulsed them in this manner, instead of pursuing them, they thought proper to turn their arms against the Athenian foot, which they took in flank, put into disorder, and pushed with great vigor. Just as they were ready to turn tail, the general of the Elean cavalry, who commanded a body of reserve, seeing the danger of that phalanx, came upon the spur to its relief, charged the Theban horse, who expected nothing so little, forced them to retreat, and regained from them their advantage. At the same time the Athenian cavalry, which had been routed at first, finding they were not pursued, rallied themselves, and instead of going to the assistance of their foot, which was roughly handled, they attacked the detachment posted by the Thebans upon the heights without the line, and put it to the sword.

After these different movements, and this alternative of losses and advantages, the troops on both sides stood still, and rested upon their arms, and the trumpets of the two armies, as if by consent, sounded the retreat at the same time. Each party pretended to the victory, and erected a trophy; the Thebans, because they had defeated the right wing, and remained masters of the field of battle; the Athenians, because they had cut the detachment in pieces. And from this point of honour, both sides refused at first to ask leave to bury their dead, which, with the ancients, was confessing their defeat. The Lacedaemonians, however, sent first to demand that permission; after which, the rest had no thoughts but of paying the last duties to the slain.

Such was the event of the famous battle of Mantinea. Xenophon, in his relation of it, recommends the disposition of the Theban troops, and the order of battle, to the reader's attention, which he describes as a man of knowledge and experience in the art of war. And Monsieur Pollard, who justly looks upon Epaminondas as one of the greatest generals Greece ever produced, in his description of the same battle, ventures to call it the master piece of that great captain.

Epaminondas had been carried into the camp. The sur-

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# PERSIANS and GRECIANS. 295

geons, after having examined the wound, declared that he would expire as soon as the head of the dart was drawn out of it. Those words gave all that were present the utmost sorrow and affliction, who were inconsolable on seeing so great a man about to die, and to die without issue. For him, the only concern he expressed was about his arms, and the success of the battle. When they shewed him his shield, and assured him, that the Thebans had gained the victory; turning towards his friends with a calm and serene air: "Do not regard, said he, this day as the end of my life, but as the beginning of my happiness, and the completion of my glory. I leave Thebes triumphant, proud Sparta humbled, and Greece delivered from the yoke of servitude. For the rest, I do not reckon that I die without issue; Leuctra and Mantinea are two illustrious daughters, that will not fail to keep my name alive, and to transmit it to posterity." Having spoke to this effect, he drew the head of the javelin out of his wound, and expired.

It may be truly said, that the Theban power expired with this great man; whom \* Cicero seems to rank above all the illustrious men Greece ever produced. † Justin is of the same opinion, when he says, That as a dart is no longer in a condition to wound when the point of it is blunted; so Thebes, after having lost its general, was no longer formidable to its enemies, and its power seemed to have lost its edge, and to be annihilated by the death of Epaminondas. Before him that city was not distinguished by any memorable action, and afterwards it was not famous for its virtues but misfortunes, till it sunk into its original obscurity: so that it saw its glory take birth, and expire with this great man.

\* Epaminondas, princeps, meo iudicio, Graeciae. Acad. quest. l.

† Nam sicuti telo, si primam aciem praefregeris, reliquo ferro vim occendi sustuleris; sic illo velut mucrone teli ablato duce Thebanorum, rei quoque publicae vires hebetatae sunt: ut non tam illum amisisse, quam cum illo omnes interuisse viderentur. Nam neque hunc ante ducem ullum memorabile bellum gessere, nec postea virtutis, sed eladibus, insignes fuere: ut manifestum sit, patriae gloriam cum eo extinctam cum eo fuisse. Justin. l. vi. c. 8.



It has been \* doubted, whether he was a more excellent captain or good man. He sought not power for himself, but for his country; and was so perfectly void of self-interest, that, at his death, he was not worth the expence of his funeral. Truly a philosopher, and poor out of taste, he despised riches, without affecting any reputation from that contempt; and, if Justin may be believed, he covered glory as little as he did money. It was always against his will, that commands were conferred upon him; and he behaved himself in them in such a manner, as did more honour to dignities, than dignities to him.

Though poor himself, and without any estate, his very poverty, by drawing upon him the esteem and confidence of the rich, gave him the opportunity of doing good to others. One of his friends being in great necessity, Epaminondas sent him to a very rich citizen, with orders to ask him for a thousand crowns (h) in his name. That rich man coming to his house, to know his motives for directing his friend to him upon such an errand: (i) *Why*, replied Epaminondas, *it is because this honest man is in want, and you are rich* †.

He had § cultivated those generous and noble sentiments in himself by the study of polite learning and philosophy, which he had made his usual employment and sole delight from his earliest infancy; so that it was surprising, and a question frequently asked, how, and at what time, it was possible for a man, always busy amongst books, to attain, or rather seize the knowledge of the art military in so great a degree of perfection? Fond of leisure, which he devoted to the study of philosophy, his darling passion, he shew-

(h) A talent. (i) Plut. de praecept. resp. ger. p. 809.

\* Fuit incertum, vir melior an dux esset. Nam imperium non semper sed patriae quae sivit; et pecuniae adeo parcus fuit, ut sumptus funeri defuerit. Gloriam quoque non cupidior, quam pecuniae: quippe recusanti omnia imperia ingesta sunt, honoresque ita gessit, ut ornamentum non accipere, sed dare ipsi dignitati videretur. Justin.

† Οτι, ὡς ἄνθρωπος, οὐκ ἔστιν ἄνθρωπος, οὐκ ἔστιν ἄνθρωπος.

§ Jam literarum studium, jam philosophiae doctrina tanta, ut mirabile videretur, vade tam insignis, nullius scientiae homini inter se nota. Justin.

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ned public employments, and made no interests but to exclude himself from them. His moderation concealed him so well, that he lived obscure, and almost unknown. His merit however discovered him. He was taken from his solitude by force, to be placed at the head of armies; and he demonstrated, that philosophy, though generally in contempt with those who aspire at the glory of arms, is wonderfully useful in forming heroes. For besides its being a great advance towards conquering the enemy, to know how to conquer one's self, in this school \* antiently were taught the great maxims of true policy, the rules of every kind of duty, the motives of a due discharge of them, what we owe our country, the right use for authority, wherein true courage consists; in a word, the qualities that form the good citizen, statesman, and great captain.

He possessed all the ornaments of the mind: he had the talent of speaking in perfection, and was well versed in the most sublime sciences. But a modest reserve threw a veil over all these excellent qualities, which still augmented their value, and of which he knew not what it was to be ostentatious. Spintharus, in giving his character, said, (k) *that he never had met with a man who knew more, and spoke less.*

It may be said therefore of Epaminondas, that he falsified the proverb, which treated the Boeotians as gross and stupid. This was their common † characteristic, and was imputed to the gross air of the country, as the Athenian delicacy of taste was attributed to the subtilty of the air they breathed. Horace says, that to judge of Alexander from his bad taste of poetry, one would swear him a true Boeotian.

*Boeotum in crasso jurares aere natum:* Epist. 1. l. ii.

In thick Boeotian air you'd swear him born.

When Alcibiades was reproached with having little in-

(k) Plut. de audit. p. 39.

\* The works of Plato, Xenophon, and Aristotle, are proof of this.

† Inter locorum naturas quantum interfit, videmus--Athenis tenue celum, ex quo acutiores etiam putantur Attici; crassum Thebis, que pingues Thebani. Cic. de fato, n. 7.

clination for music, he thought fit to make this excuse: *It is for Thebans \* to sing as they do, who know not how to speak.* Pindar and Plutarch, who have very little of the spoil in them, and who are proofs that genius is of all nations, do themselves condemn the stupidity of their countrymen. Epaminondas did honour to his country, not only by the greatness of his military exploits, but by that sort of merit, which results from elevation of genius, and the study of science.

I shall conclude his portrait and character with a circumstance, that gives place in nothing to all his other excellencies, and which may in some sense be preferred to them, as it expresses a good heart, and a tender and sensible spirit: qualities, very rare amongst the great, but infinitely more estimable than all those splendid attributes, which the vulgar of mankind commonly gaze at with admiration, and seem almost the only objects worthy either of being imitated or envied. The victory at Leuctra had drawn the eyes and admiration of all the neighbouring people upon Epaminondas, who looked upon him as the support and restorer of Thebes; as the triumphant conqueror of Sparta, as the deliverer of all Greece; in a word, as the greatest man, and the most excellent captain, that ever was in the world. In the midst of this universal applause, so capable of making the general of an army forget the man for the victor, Epaminondas, little sensible to so affecting and so deserved a glory, (1) *My joy, said he, arises from my sense of that, which the news of my victory will give my father and my mother.*

Nothing in history seems so valuable to me as such sentiments, which do honour to human nature, and proceed from a heart, which neither false glory nor false greatness have corrupted. I confess, it is with grief I see these noble sentiments daily expire amongst us, especially in persons whose birth and rank raise them above others, who, too frequently, are neither good fathers, good sons, good husbands, nor good friends, and who would think it a dis-

(1) Plut. in Coriol. p. 215.

\* They were great musicians.

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grace to them, to express for a father and mother the tender regard of which we have here so fine an example from a Pagan.

Till Epaminondas's time, two cities had exercised alternately a kind of empire over all Greece. The justice and moderation of Sparta had at first acquired it a distinguished preheminance, which the pride and haughtiness of its generals, and especially of Pausanias, soon lost it. The Athenians, till the Peloponnesian war, held the first rank, but in a manner scarce discernible in any other respect, than their care in acquitting themselves worthily, and in giving their inferiors just reason to believe themselves their equals. They judged at that time, and very justly, that the true method of commanding, and of continuing their power, was to evidence their superiority only by services and benefactions. Those times, so glorious for Athens, were of about forty-five years continuance; and they retained a part of that preheminance during the twenty-seven years of the Peloponnesian war, which make in all the seventy-two or seventy-three years, which Demosthenes gives to the duration of their empire (m). But for this latter space of time, the Greeks, disgusted by the haughtiness of Athens, received no laws from that city without reluctance. Hence the Lacedaemonians became again the arbiters of Greece, and continued so from the time Lyfander made himself master of Athens, till the first war undertaken by the Athenians, after their re-establishment by Conon, to withdraw themselves and the rest of the Greeks from the tyranny of Sparta, which was now grown more insolent than ever. At length, Thebes disputed the supremacy; and by the exalted merit of a single man, saw itself at the head of all Greece. But that glorious condition was of no long continuance; and the death of Epaminondas, as we have already observed, plunged it again into the obscurity in which he found it.

Demosthenes remarks, in the passage above-cited, that the preheminance granted voluntarily either to Sparta or Athens, was a preheminance of honour, not of dominion,

(m) Demost. Philip. 3. p. 89.



and that the intent of Greece was to preserve a kind of equality and independence in the other cities. Hence, says he, when the governing city attempted to ascribe to itself what did not belong to it, and aimed at any innovations contrary to the rules of justice and established customs, all the Greeks thought themselves obliged to have recourse to arms, and, without any motive of personal discontent, to espouse with ardour the cause of the injured.

I shall add here another very judicious reflection from Polybius (n). He attributes the wise conduct of the Athenians, in the times I speak of, to the ability of the generals who were then at the head of their affairs; and he makes use of a comparison, which explains not unhappily, the character of that people. A vessel without a master, says he, is exposed to great dangers, when every one insists upon its being steered according to his opinion, and will comply with no other measures. If then a rude storm attacks it, the common danger conciliates and unites them; they abandon themselves to the pilot's skill; and all the rowers doing their duty, the ship is saved, and in a state of security. But if the tempest ceases, and when the weather grows calm again, the discord of the mariners revives; if they will hearken no longer to the pilot, and some are for continuing their voyage, whilst others resolve to stop in the midst of the course; if, on one side, they loose their sails, and furl them on the other; it often happens, that, after having escaped the most violent storms, they are shipwrecked even in the port. This, says Polybius, is a natural image of the Athenian republic. As long as it suffered itself to be guided by the wise counsels of an Aristides, a Themistocles, a Pericles, it came off victorious, from the greatest dangers. But prosperity blinded and ruined it, following no longer any thing but caprice, and being become too insolent to be advised or governed, it plunged itself into the greatest misfortunes.

(n) Polyb. l. vii p 468.

SECT. VIII. *Death of Evagoras King of Salamin. Nicocles his son succeeds him. Admirable character of that prince.*

(o) THE third year of the 101st Olympiad, soon after the Thebans had destroyed Plataeae and Thespiae, as has been observed before, Evagoras, King of Salamin in the isle of Cyprus, of whom much has been said in the preceding volume, was assassinated by one of his eunuchs. His son Nicocles succeeded him. He had a fine model before him in the person of his father; and he seemed to make it his duty to be entirely intent upon treading in his steps (p). When he took possession of the throne, he found the public treasures entirely exhausted, by the great expences his father had been obliged to be at in the long war between him and the King of Persia. He knew that the generality of princes, upon like occasions, thought every means just for the re-establishment of their affairs; but for him, he acted upon different principles. In his reign there was no talk of banishment, taxes, and confiscation of estates. The public felicity was his sole object, and justice his favourite virtue. He discharged the debts of the state gradually, not by crushing the people with excessive imposts, but by retrenching all unnecessary expences, and by using a wise oeconomy in the administration of his revenue.

(q) "I am assured, said he, that no citizen can complain that I have done him the least wrong; and I have the satisfaction to know, that I have enriched many with an unsparing hand." He believed this kind of vanity, if it be vanity, might be permitted in a prince; and that it was glorious for him to have it in his power to make his subjects such a defiance.

(r) He piqued himself also in particular upon another virtue, which is the more admirable in princes, as very uncommon in their fortune; I mean temperance. It is most amiable, but very difficult, in an age and a fortune,

(o) A. M. 3630. Ant. J. C. 374. Diod. l. xv. p. 363.

(p) Socrat. in Nicoc. p. 64. (q) Ibid. p. 65, 66.

(r) Ibid. p. 67.

to which every thing is lawful, and wherein pleasure, armed with all her arts and attractions, is continually lying in ambush for a young prince, and preventing his desires, to make a long resistance against the violence and insinuation of her soft assaults. Nicocles gloried in having never known any woman besides his wife during his reign, and was amazed that all other contracts of civil society should be treated with due regard, whilst that of marriage, the most sacred and inviolable of obligations, was broke through with impunity; and that men should not blush to commit an infidelity in respect to their wives, of which should their wives be guilty, it would throw them into the utmost anguish and despair.

What I have said of the justice and temperance of Nicocles, Isocrates puts into that prince's own mouth; and it is not probable that he should make him speak in such a manner, if his conduct had not agreed with such sentiments. It is in a discourse supposed to be addressed by that king to his people, wherein he describes to them the duties of subjects to their princes; love, respect, obedience, fidelity, and devotion to their service; and to engage them more effectually to the discharge of those duties, he does not disdain to give them an account of his own conduct and sentiments.

(s) In another discourse, which precedes this, Isocrates explains to Nicocles all the duties of the sovereignty, and makes excellent reflections upon that subject, of which I can repeat here only a very small part. He begins by telling him, that the virtue of private persons is much better supported than his own, by the mediocrity of their condition, by the employment and cares inseparable from it, by the misfortunes to which they are frequently exposed, by their distance from pleasures and luxury, and particularly, by the liberty which their friends and relations have of giving them advice; whereas the generality of princes have none of these advantages. He adds, that a king, who would make himself capable of governing well, ought to avoid an idle and inactive life; should set apart a pro-

(s) Isocrat. ad Nicoc.

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## PERSIANS and GRECIANS. 303

per time for business and the public affairs; should form his council of the most able and experienced persons in his kingdom; should endeavour to make himself as much superior to others by his merit and wisdom, as he is by his dignity; and especially acquire the love of his subjects, and for that purpose love them sincerely, and look upon himself as their common father. "Persist, said he, in the religion you have received from your forefathers; but be assured, that the most grateful adoration and sacrifice that you can offer to the Divinity, is that of the heart, in rendering yourself good and just. Shew upon all occasions so high a regard for truth, that a single word from you, may be more confided in than the oath of others. Be a warrior by your ability in military affairs, and by such a warlike provision as may intimidate your enemies; but let your inclinations be pacific, and be rigidly exact in never pretending to, or undertaking any thing unjustly. The only certain proof that you have reigned well, will be the power of bearing this testimony to yourself, that your people are become both more happy, and more wise, under your government."

What seems to me most remarkable in this discourse, is, that the advice which Isocrates gives the king, is neither attended with praises, nor with those studied reservations and artificial turns, without which fearful and modest truth dares not venture to approach the throne. This is most worthy of applause, and more for the prince's than for the writer's praise. Nicocles, far from being offended at these counsels, received them with joy; and to express his gratitude to Isocrates, made him a present of twenty talents, that is to say, twenty thousand crowns (t).

SECT. IX. *Artaxerxes Mnemon undertakes the reduction of Egypt. Iphicrates the Athenian is appointed general of the Athenian troops. The enterprize miscarries by the ill conduct of Pharnabazus the Persian general.*

(u) **A**RTAXERXES, after having given his people a relaxation of several years, had formed the design

(t) Plut. in vit. Isoc. p. 838.

(u) A. M. 3627. Ant. J. C. 377. Diod. l. xv. p. 328. & 347.



of reducing Egypt, which had shaken off the Persian yoke long before, and made great preparations for war for that purpose. Achoris, who then reigned in Egypt, and had given Evagoras powerful aid against the Persians, foreseeing the storm, raised abundance of troops of his own subjects, and took into his pay a great body of Greeks, and other auxiliary soldiers, of whom Chabrias had the command. (x) He had accepted that office without the authority of the republic.

Pharnabazus, having been charged with this war, sent to Athens to complain that Chabrias had engaged himself to serve against his master, and threatened the republic with the King's resentment, if he was not immediately recalled. He demanded at the same time Iphicrates, another Athenian, who was looked upon as one of the most excellent captains of his time, to give him the command of the body of Greek troops in the service of his master. The Athenians, who had a great interest in the continuance of the King's friendship, recalled Chabrias, and ordered him upon pain of death to repair to Athens by a certain day. Iphicrates was sent to the Persian army.

The preparations of the Persians went on so slowly, that two whole years elapsed before they entered upon action. (y) Achoris King of Egypt died in that time, and was succeeded by Psammuthis, who reigned but a year. Nephertitus was the next; and four months after Nectanebis, who reigned ten or twelve years.

(z) Artaxerxes, to draw more troops out of Greece, sent ambassadors thither, to declare to the several states, that the King's intent was, they should all live in peace with each other conformably to the treaty of Antalcides, that all garrisons should be withdrawn, and all the cities suffered to enjoy their liberty under their respective laws. All Greece received this declaration with pleasure, except the Thebans, who refused to conform to it.

(a) At length, every thing being in readiness for the

(x) Cor. Nep. in Chab. & in Iphic. (y) Euseb. in Chron.

(z) A. M. 3830. Ant. J. G. 374. Diod. l. xv. p. 355.

(a) Diod. l. xv. p. 358, 359.

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invasion of Egypt, a camp was formed at Acae, since called *Ptolemais*, in Palestine, the place appointed for the general rendezvous. In a review there, the army was found to consist of two hundred thousand Persians, under the command of Pharnabazus, and twenty thousand Greeks under Iphicrates. The forces at sea were in proportion to those at land; their fleet consisting of three hundred galleys, besides two hundred vessels of thirty oars, and a prodigious number of barks to transport the necessary provisions for the fleet and army.

The army and fleet began to move at the same time: and, that they might act in concert, they separated from each other as little as possible. The war was to open with the siege of Pelusium; but so much time had been given the Egyptians, that Nectanebis had rendered the approach to it impracticable both by sea and land. The fleet therefore, instead of making a descent, as had been projected, sailed forwards, and entered the mouth of the Nile, called *Mendesium*. The Nile at that time emptied itself into the sea by seven different channels, of which only two\* remain at this day; and at each of those mouths there was a fort, with a good garrison, to defend the entrance. The Mendesium not being so well fortified as that of Pelusium, where the enemy was expected to land, the descent was made with no great difficulty. The fort was carried sword in hand, and no quarter given to those who were found in it.

After this signal action, Iphicrates thought it adviseable to re-embark upon the Nile without loss of time, and to attack Memphis the capital of Egypt. If that opinion had been followed before the Egyptians had recovered the panic, into which so formidable an invasion, and the blow already received, had thrown them, they had found the capital without any defence, it had inevitably fallen into their hands, and all Egypt been re-conquered. But the gross of the army not being arrived, Pharnabazus believed it necessary to wait its coming up, and would undertake nothing, till he had re-assembled all his troops; under pre-

\* Damietta and Rosetta.

text, that they would then be invincible, and that there would be no obstacle capable of withstanding them.

Iphicrates, who knew that in affairs of war especially, there are certain favourable and decisive moments, which it is absolutely proper to seize, judged quite differently, and in despair to see an opportunity suffered to escape, that might never be retrieved, he made pressing instances for permission to go at least with the twenty thousand men under his command. Pharnabazus refused to comply with that demand out of abject jealousy; apprehending, that if the enterprize succeeded, the whole glory of the war would redound to Iphicrates. This delay gave the Egyptians time to look about them. They drew all their troops together into a body, put a good garrison into Memphis, and with the rest of their army kept the field, and harassed the Persians in such a manner, that they prevented their advancing farther into the country. After which came on the inundation of the Nile, which laying all Egypt under water, the Persians were obliged to return into Phoenicia, having first lost ineffectually the best part of their troops.

Thus this expedition, which had cost immense sums, and for which the preparations alone had given so much difficulty for upwards of two years, entirely miscarried, and produced no other effect, than an irreconcilable enmity between the two generals who had the command of it. Pharnabazus, to excuse himself, accused Iphicrates of having prevented its success; and Iphicrates, with much more reason, laid all the fault upon Pharnabazus. But well assured that the Persian lord would be believed at his court in preference to him, and remembering what had happened to Conon, to avoid the fate of that illustrious Athenian, he chose to retire secretly to Athens in a small vessel which he hired. Pharnabazus caused him to be accused there, of having rendered the expedition against Egypt abortive. The people of Athens made answer, that if he could be convicted of that crime, he should be punished as he deserved. But his innocence was too well known at Athens to give him any disquiet upon that account. It does not appear that he was ever called in question about it;

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and some time after, the Athenians declared him sole admiral of their fleet.

(b) Most of the projects of the Persian court miscarried by their slowness in putting them in execution. Their generals hands were tied up, and nothing was left to their discretion. They had a plan of conduct in their instructions, from which they did not dare to depart. If any accident happened, that had not been foreseen and provided for, they must wait for new orders from court, and before they arrived the opportunity was entirely lost. Iphicrates, having observed that Pharnabazus took his resolutions with all the presence of mind and penetration that could be desired in an accomplished general (c), asked him one day, how it happened that he was so quick in his views, and so slow in his actions? *It is,* replied Pharnabazus, *because my views depend only upon me, but their execution upon my master.*

SECT. X. *The Lacedaemonians send Agesilaus to the aid of Tachos, who had revolted from the Persians, The King of Sparta's actions in Egypt. His death. The greatest part of the provinces revolt against Artaxerxes.*

(d) **A**FTER the battle of Mantinea, both parties, equally weary of the war, had entered into a general peace with all the other states of Greece, upon the King of Persia's plan, by which the enjoyment of its laws and liberties were secured to each city, and the Messenians included in it, notwithstanding all the opposition and intrigues of the Lacedaemonians to prevent it. Their rage upon this occasion separated them from the other Greeks. They were the only people who resolved to continue the war, from the hope of recovering the whole country of Messenia in a short time. That resolution, of which Agesilaus was the author, occasioned him to be justly regarded as a violent and obstinate man, insatiable of glory and command, who was not afraid of involving the repu-

(b) Diod. l. xv. 358. (c) Ibid p. 357. (d) Plut. in Agesil. p. 16—618. Diod. l. xv. p. 397—401.



blic again in inevitable misfortunes, from the necessity to which the want of money exposed them of borrowing great sums, and of levying great imposts, instead of taking the favourable opportunity of concluding a peace, and of putting an end to all their evils.

(c) Whilst this passed in Greece, Tachos, who had ascended the throne of Egypt, drew together as many troops as he could, to defend himself against the King of Persia, who meditated a new invasion of Egypt, notwithstanding the ill success of his past endeavours to reduce that kingdom.

For this purpose Tachos sent into Greece, and obtained a body of troops from the Lacedaemonians, with Agesilaus to command them, whom he promised to make generalissimo of his army. The Lacedaemonians were exasperated against Artaxerxes, from his having forced them to include the Messenians in the late peace, and were fond of taking this occasion to express their resentment. Charis went also into the service of Tachos, but of his own head, and without the republic's participation.

This commission did Agesilaus no honour. It was thought below the dignity of a king of Sparta, and a great captain, who had made his name glorious throughout the world, and was then more than eighty years old, to receive the pay of an Egyptian, and to serve a barbarian, who had revolted against his master.

When he landed in Egypt, the King's principal generals, and the great officers of his house, came to his ships to receive, and make their court to him. The rest of the Egyptians were as solicitous to see him, from the great expectation which the name and renown of Agesilaus had excited in them, and came in multitudes to the shore for that purpose. But when, instead of a great and magnificent prince, according to the idea his exploits had given them of him, they saw nothing splendid or majestic either in his person or equipage, and saw only an old man of a mean aspect and small body, without any appearance, and dressed in a bad robe of very coarse stuff, they were seized with an

(c) A. M. 3641. Ant. J. C. 363. Xenoph. de reg. Agesil. p. 663. Cor. Nep. in Agesil. c. 8.

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immoderate disposition to laugh, and applied the fable of the mountain in labour to him.

When he met King Tachos, and had joined his troops with those of Egypt, he was very much surpris'd at not being appointed general of the whole army, as he expected, but only of the foreign troops; that Chabrias was made general of the sea-forces; and that Tachos retained the command in chief to himself, which was not the only mortification he had to experience.

Tachos came to a resolution to march into Phoenicia, thinking it more adviseable to make that country the seat of the war, than to expect the enemy in Egypt. Agesilaus, who knew better, represented to him in vain, that his affairs were not sufficiently established to admit his removing out of his dominions; that he would do much better to remain in them, and content himself with acting by his generals in the enemy's country. Tachos despised this wise counsel, and expressed no less disregard for him on all other occasions. Agesilaus was so much incens'd at such conduct, that he joined the Egyptians, who had taken arms against him during his absence, and had placed Nectanebis his \* cousin upon the throne. Agesilaus, abandoning the King, to whose aid he had been sent, and joining the rebel, who had dethroned him, alleged in justification of himself, that he was sent to the assistance of the Egyptians; and that they, having taken up arms against Tachos, he was not at liberty to serve against them without new orders from Sparta. He dispatched expresses thither; and the instructions he received, were to act as he should judge most advantageous for his country. He immediately declared for Nectanebis. Tachos, obliged to quit Egypt, retired to Sidon, from whence he went to the court of Persia. Artaxerxes not only forgave him his fault, but added to his clemency the command of his troops against the rebels.

Agesilaus covered the so criminal a conduct with the veil of the public utility. But, says Plutarch, remove that de-

\* Diodorus calls him his son; Plutarch, his cousin.

lusive blind, the most just and only true name which can be given the action, is that of perfidy and treason. It is true, the Lacedaemonians, making the glorious and the good consist principally in the service of their country, which they idolized, knew no other justice than what tended to the augmentation of the grandeur of Sparta, and the extending of its dominions. I am surpris'd so judicious an author as Xenophon should endeavour to palliate a conduct of this kind, by saying only, that Agesilaus attached himself to that of the two kings who seem'd the best affected to Greece.

At the same time, a third prince of the city of Mendes set up for himself, to dispute the crown with Nectanebis. This new competitor had an army of an hundred thousand men to support his pretensions. Agesilaus gave his advice to attack them, before they were exercised and disciplined. Had that counsel been followed, it had been easy to have defeated a body of people, raised in haste, and without any experience in war. But Nectanebis imagin'd, that Agesilaus only gave him this advice to betray him in consequence, as he had done Tachos. He therefore gave his enemy time to discipline his troops; who soon after reduced him to retire into a city, fortified with good walls, and of very great extent. Agesilaus was oblig'd to follow him thither; where the Mendesian prince besieg'd them. Nectanebis would then have attack'd the enemy before his works which were begun were advanced, and press'd Agesilaus to that purpose; but he refus'd his compliance at first, which extremely augmented the suspicions conceived of him. At length, when he saw the work in a sufficient forwardness, and that there remained only as much ground between the two ends of the line, as the troops within the city might occupy, drawn up in battle, he told Nectanebis, that it was time to attack the enemy, that their own lines would prevent their surrounding him, and that the interval between them was exactly the space he wanted, for ranging his troops in such a manner, as they might all act together effectively. The attack was executed according to Agesilaus's expectation; the be-

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siegers were beaten, and from thenceforth Agefilaus conducted all the operations of the war with so much success, that the enemy-prince was always overcome, and at last taken prisoner.

(f) The following winter, after having well established Nectanebis, he embarked to return for Lacedaemon, and was driven by contrary winds upon the coast of Africa, into a place called *the port of Menelaus*, where he fell sick and died, at the age of fourscore and four years. He had reigned forty-one of them at Sparta; and of those forty-one, he had passed thirty with the reputation of the greatest and most powerful of all the Greeks, and had been looked upon as the leader and king of almost all Greece, till the battle of Leuctra. His latter years did not entirely support the reputation he had acquired; and Xenophon, in his elogium of this prince, wherein he gives him the preference to all other captains, has been found to exaggerate his virtues, and extenuate his faults too much.

The body of Agefilaus was carried to Sparta. Those who were about him not having honey, with which it was the Spartan custom to cover the bodies they would embalm, made use of wax in its stead. His son Archidamus succeeded to the throne, which continued in his house down to Agis, who was the fifth king of the line of Agefilaus.

Towards the end of the Egyptian war, the greatest part of the provinces in subjection to Persia revolted.

Artaxerxes Mnemon had been the involuntary occasion of this defection. That prince, of himself, was good, equitable, and benevolent. He loved his people, and was loved by them. He had abundance of mildness, and sweetness of temper in his character; but that easiness degenerated into sloth and luxury, and particularly in the latter years of his life, in which he discovered a dislike for all business and application, from whence the good qualities, which he otherwise possessed, as well as his beneficent intentions, became useless, and without effect. The nobility and governors of provinces, abusing his favour, and the infirmities of his great age, oppressed the people, treat-

(f) A. M. 3643. Ant. J. C. 361.



ed them with insolence and cruelty, loaded them with taxes, and did every thing in their power to render the Persian yoke insupportable.

The discontent became general, and broke out, after long suffering, almost at the same time on all sides. Asia Minor, Syria, Phoenicia, and many other provinces, declared themselves openly, and took up arms. The principal leaders of the conspiracy were Ariobarzanes Prince of Phrygia, Mausolus King of Caria, Orontes Governor of Mysia, and Autophradates governors of Lydia. Datames, of whom mention has been made before, and who commanded in Cappadocia, was also engaged in it. By this means, half the revenues of the crown were on a sudden diverted into different channels, and the remainder did not suffice for the expences of a war against the revolters, had they acted in concert. But their union was of no long continuance; and those who had been the first, and most zealous in shaking off the yoke, were also the foremost in resuming it, and in betraying the interests of others, to make their peace with the King.

The provinces of Asia Minor, on withdrawing from their obedience, had entered into a confederacy for their mutual defence, and had chosen Orontes governor of Mysia for their general. They had also resolved to add twenty thousand foreign troops to those of the country, and had charged the same Orontes with the care of raising them. But when he had got the money for that service into his hands, with the addition of a year's pay, he kept it for himself and delivered to the King the persons who had brought it from the revolted provinces.

Rheomithras, another of the chiefs of Asia Minor, being sent into \* Egypt to negotiate succours, committed a treachery of a like nature. Having brought from that country five hundred talents and fifty ships of war, he assembled the principal revolters at Leucas, a city of Asia Minor, under pretence of giving them an account of his negotiation, seized them all, delivered them to the King to make his peace, and kept the money he had received in E-

\* Diodorus says he was sent to Tachos, but it is more likely that it was to Nectanebis.

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gypt for the confederacy. Thus this formidable revolt, which had brought the Persian empire to the very brink of ruin, dissolved of itself, or, to speak more properly, was suspended for some time.

SECT. XI. *Troubles at the court of Artaxerxes concerning his successor. Death of that prince.*

(g) **T**HE end of Artaxerxes's reign abounded with cabals. The whole court were divided into factions in favour of one or other of his sons, who pretended to the succession. He had an hundred and fifty by his concubines, who were in number three hundred and fixty, and three by his lawful wife Atossa; Darius, Ariaspes, and Ochus. To put a stop to these practices, he declared Darius the eldest, his successor. And to remove all cause of disputing that prince's right after his death, he permitted him to assume from thenceforth the title of *King*, and to wear the royal \* tiara. But the young prince was for having something more real. Besides which, the refusal of Artaxerxes to give him one of his concubines, whom he had demanded, had extremely incensed him; and he formed a conspiracy against his father's life, where-in he engaged fifty of his brothers.

It was Tiribafus, of whom mention has been made several times in the preceding volume, who contributed the most to his taking so unnatural a resolution, from a like subject of discontent against the King; who, having promised to give him first one of his daughters in marriage, and then another, broke his word both times, and married them himself; such abominable incests being permitted at that time in Persia, the religion of the nation not prohibiting them.

The number of the conspirators was already very great, and the day fixed for the execution, when an eunuch, well

(g) Plut. in Artaxerx. p. 1024---1027. ; Diod. l. xv. p. 400.; Justin. l. 10. c. 1. & 2.

\* This tiara was a turbant, or kind of head-dress, with the plumes of feathers standing upright upon it. The seven counsellors had also plumes of feathers, which they wore aslant, and before. All others wore them aslant, and behind.

informed of the whole plot, discovered it to the king. Upon that information, Artaxerxes thought it would be highly imprudent to despise so great a danger by neglecting a strict inquiry into it; but that it would be much more so, to give credit to it without certain and unquestionable proof. He assured himself of it with his own eyes. The conspirators were suffered to enter the King's apartment, and then seized Darius, and all his accomplices were punished as they deserved.

After the death of Darius, the cabals began again. Three of his brothers were competitors, Ariaspes, Ochus, and Arsames. The two first pretended to the throne in right of birth, being the sons of the Queen. The third had the King's favour, who tenderly loved him, though only the son of a concubine. Ochus, prompted by his restless ambition, studied perpetually the means to rid himself of both his rivals. As he was equally cunning and cruel, he employed his craft and artifice against Ariaspes, and his cruelty against Arsames. Knowing the former to be extremely simple and credulous, he made the eunuchs of the palace, whom he had found means to corrupt, threaten him so terribly in the name of the King his father, that expecting every moment to be treated as Darius had been, he poisoned himself to avoid it. After this, there remained only Arsames to give him umbrage, because his father, and all the world, considered that prince as most worthy of the throne, from his ability and other excellent qualities. Him he caused to be assassinated by Harpates, son of Tiribafus.

This loss, which followed close upon the other, and the exceeding wickedness with which both were attended, gave the old King a grief that proved mortal; nor is it surprising, that, at his age, he should not have strength enough to support so great an affliction. (h) He sunk under it into his tomb, after a reign of forty three years, which might have been called happy, if not interrupted by many revolts. That of his successor will be no less disturbed with them.

(h) A. M. 3643. Ant. J. C. 361.

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### SECT. XII. *Causes of the frequent insurrections and revolts in the Persian empire.*

I HAVE taken care in relating the seditions that happened in the Persian empire, to observe from time to time the abuses which occasioned them. But as these revolts were more frequent than ever in the latter years, and will be more so, especially in the succeeding reign, I thought it would be proper to unite here, under the same point of view, the different causes of such insurrections, which foretel the approaching decline of the Persian empire.

I. After the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus, the kings of Persia abandoned themselves more and more to the charms of voluptuousness and luxury, and the delights of an indolent and inactive life. Shut up generally in their palaces amongst women, and a croud of flatterers, they contented themselves with enjoying, in soft effeminate ease and idleness, the pleasure of universal command, and made their grandeur consist in the splendid glare of riches, and an expensive magnificence.

II. They were besides princes of no great talents for the conduct of affairs, of small capacity to govern, and void of taste for glory. Not having a sufficient extent of mind to animate all the parts of so vast an empire, nor ability to support the weight of it, they transferred to their officers the cares of public business, the fatigues of commanding armies, and the dangers which attend the execution of great enterprises; confining their ambition to bearing alone the lofty title of *the great king*, and *the king of kings*.

III. The great offices of the crown, the government of the provinces, the command of armies, were generally bestowed upon people without either service or merit. It was the credit of the favourites, the secret intrigues of the court, the solicitations of the women of the palace, which determined the choice of the persons who were to fill the most important posts of the empire; and appropriated the rewards due to the officers who had done the state real service to their own creatures.



IV. These courtiers, often out of a base, mean jealousy of the merit, that gave them umbrage, and reproached their small abilities, removed their rivals from public employments, and rendered their talents useless to the state. † Sometimes they would even cause their fidelity to be suspected by false informations, bring them to trial, as criminals against the state, and force the king's most faithful servants, for their defence against their calumniators, to seek their safety in revolting, and in turning those arms against their prince, which they had so often made triumph for his glory, and the service of the empire.

V. The ministers, to hold the generals in dependence, restrained them under such limited orders as obliged them to let slip the occasions of conquering, and prevented them, by attending new orders, from pushing their advantages. They also often made them responsible for their bad success, after having let them want every thing necessary to the service.

VI. The kings of Persia had extremely degenerated from the frugality of Cyrus, and the ancient Persians, who contented themselves with cresses and sallads for their food, and water for their drink. The whole nobility had been infected with the contagion of this example. In retaining the single meal of their ancestors, they made it last during the greatest part of the day, and prolonged it far into the night, by drinking to excess; and far from being ashamed of drunkenness, they made it their glory, as we have seen in the example of young Cyrus.

VII. The extreme remoteness of the provinces, which extended from the Caspian and Euxine, to the Red sea and Æthiopia, and from the rivers Ganges and Indus to the Ægean sea, was a great obstacle to the fidelity and affection of the people, who never had the satisfaction to enjoy the presence of their masters; who knew them only by the weight of their taxations, and by the pride and avarice of their *satraps* or governors; and who, in transporting themselves to the court, to make their demands and complaints there, could not hope to find access to princes, who be-

† Pharnabazus, Tiribazus, Datames, &c.

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ieved it contributed to the majesty of their persons to make themselves inaccessible and invisible.

VIII. The multitude of the provinces in subjection to Persia, did not compose an uniform empire, nor the regular body of a state, whose members were united by the common ties of interests, manners, language, and religion, and animated with the same spirit of government, under the guidance of the same laws. It was rather a confused, disjointed, tumultuous, and even forced assemblage of different nations, formerly free and independent; of whom some, who were torn from their native countries, and the sepulchres of their forefathers, saw themselves with pain transported into unknown regions, or amongst enemies, where they persevered to retain their own laws and customs, and a form of government peculiar to themselves. These different nations, who not only lived without any common tie or relation amongst them, but with a diversity of manners and worship, and often with an antipathy of characters and inclinations, desired nothing so ardently as their liberty, and re-establishment in their own countries. All these people therefore were unconcerned for the preservation of an empire, which was the sole obstacle to their so warm and just desires, and could not affect a government that treated them always as strangers and subjected nations, and never gave them any share in its authority or privileges.

IX. The extent of the empire, and its remoteness from the court, made it necessary to give the viceroys of the frontier-provinces a very great authority in every branch of government; to raise and pay armies; to impose tribute; to adjudge the differences of cities, provinces, and vassal kings; and to make treaties with the neighbouring states. A power so extensive and almost independent, in which they continued many years without being changed, and without colleagues or council to deliberate upon the affairs of their provinces, accustomed them to the pleasure of commanding absolutely, and of reigning. In consequence of which, it was with great repugnance they submitted to be removed from their governments, and often

endeavoured to support themselves in them by force of arms.

X. The governors of provinces, the generals of armies, and all the other officers and ministers, thought it for their honour, to imitate in their equipages, tables, moveables, and habits, the pomp and splendor of the court in which they had been educated. To support so destructive a pride, and to furnish out expences so much above the fortunes of private persons, they were reduced to oppress the subjects under their jurisdiction with exorbitant taxes, flagrant extortions, and the shameful traffic of a public venality, that set those offices to sale for money, which ought to have been granted only to merit. All that vanity lavished, or luxury exhausted, was made good by mean arts, and the violent rapaciousness of an insatiable avarice.

These gross irregularities, and abundance of others, which remained without remedy, and which were daily augmented by impunity, tired the people's patience, and occasioned a general discontent amongst them, the usual forerunner of the ruin of states. Their just complaints, long time despised, were followed by an open rebellion of several nations, who endeavoured to do themselves that justice by force, which was refused to their remonstrances. In such a conduct, they failed in the submission and fidelity which subjects owe to their sovereigns; but Paganism did not carry its lights so far, and was not capable of so sublime a perfection, which was reserved for a religion that teaches, that no pretext, no injustice, no vexation, can ever authorise the rebellion of a people against their prince.

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# BOOK THE THIRTEENTH.

## THE HISTORY

### OF THE PERSIANS and GRECIANS.

SECT. I. *Ochus ascends the throne of Persia. His cruelties. Revolt of several nations.*

THE more the memory of Artaxerxes Mnemon was honoured and revered throughout the whole empire, the more Ochus believed he had reason to fear for himself; convinced that, in succeeding to him, he should not find the same favourable dispositions in the people and nobility, of whom he had made himself the horror, by the murder of his two brothers. (a) To prevent that aversion from occasioning his exclusion, he prevailed upon the eunuchs, and others about the King's person, to conceal his death from the public. He began, by taking upon himself the administration of affairs, giving orders, and sealing decrees in the name of Artaxerxes, as if he had been still alive; and by one of those decrees, he caused himself to be proclaimed King throughout the whole empire, always by the order of Artaxerxes. After having governed in this manner almost ten months, believing himself sufficiently established, he at length declared the death of his father, and ascended the throne, taking upon himself the name of *Artaxerxes* (b). Authors, however, most frequently give him that of *Ochus*, by which name I shall generally call him in the sequel of this history.

Ochus was the most cruel and wicked of all the princes of his race, as his actions soon explained. In a very short

(a) Polyæn. Stratag.

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(b) A. M. 3644. Ant. J. C. 360.



time the palace and the whole empire were filled with his murders. (c) To remove from the revolted provinces all means of setting some other of the royal family upon the throne, and to rid himself at once of all trouble, that the princes and princesses of the blood might occasion him, he *put* them all to death, without regard to sex, age; or proximity of blood. He caused his own sister Ocha, whose daughter he had married, to be buried alive (d); and having shut up one of his uncles, with an hundred of his sons and grandsons in a court of the palace, he ordered them all to be shot to death with arrows, only because those princes were much esteemed by the Persians for their probity and valour. That uncle is apparently the father of Sisygambis, the mother of Darius Codomannus: (e) for Quintus Curtius tells us, that Ochus had caused fourscore of her brothers, with their father, to be massacred in one day. He treated with the same barbarity, throughout the whole empire, all those who gave him any umbrage, sparing none of the nobility whom he suspected of the least discontent whatsoever.

(f) The cruelties exercised by Ochus, did not deliver him from inquietude. Artabafus, governor of one of the Asiatic provinces, engaged Chares the Athenian, who commanded a fleet and a body of troops in those parts, to assist him, and with his aid defeated an army of seventy thousand men sent by the King to reduce him. Artabafus, in reward of so great a service, made Chares a present of money to defray the whole expences of his armament. The King of Persia resented exceedingly this conduct of the Athenians in regard to him. They were at that time employed in the war of the allies. The King's menace to join their enemies with a numerous army, obliged them to recall Chares.

(g) Artabafus, being abandoned by them, had recourse to the Thebans, of whom he obtained five thousand men that he took into his pay, with Pammenes to command

(c) Justin. l. x. c. 3. (d) Val. Max. l. ix. c. 2. (e) Quint. Curt. l. x. c. 5. (f) A. M. 3648. Ant. J. C. 356. Diod. l. xvi. p. 433. 434. (g) A. M. 3651. Ant. J. C. 353.

## PERSIANS and GRECIANS. 321

them. This reinforcement put him into a condition to acquire two other victories over the King's troops. Those two actions did the Theban troops and their commander, great honour. Thebes must have been extremely incensed against the King of Persia, to send so powerful a succour to his enemies, at a time when that republic was engaged in a war with the Phocacians. It was perhaps an effect of their policy, to render themselves more formidable, and to enhance the price of their alliance. (b) It is certain, that, soon after, they made their peace with the king, who paid them three hundred talents, that is to say, three hundred thousand crowns. Artabafus, destitute of all support, was overcome at last, and obliged to take refuge with Philip in Macedon.

Ochus, being delivered at length from so dangerous an enemy, turned all his thoughts on the side of Egypt, that had revolted long before. About the same time, several considerable events happened in Greece, which have little or no relation with the affairs of Persia. I shall insert them here; after which I shall return to the reign of Ochus, not to interrupt the series of his history.

### SECT. II. *War of the Allies against the Athenians.*

(i) **S**OME few years after the revolt of Asia Minor, of which I have been speaking, in the third year of the hundred and fiftieth Olympiad, Chio, Cos, Rhodes, and Byzantium, took up arms against Athens, upon which all then they had depended. To reduce them, they employed both great forces and great captains, Chabrias, Iphicrates, and Timotheus. \* They were the last of the Athenian Generals who did honour to their country; none after them being distinguished by merit or reputation.

(k) CHABRIAS had already acquired a great name, when having been sent against the Spartans to the aid of the The-

(h) Diod. l. xvi. p. 438.

(i) A. M. 3646. Ant. J. C. 358.

(k) Cor. Nep. in Chab. c. 1.

Haec extrema fuit aetas imperatorum Atheniensium, Iphicratis, Chabriae, Timothei: neque post illorum obitum quisquam dux in illa fuit dignus memoria. Cor. Nep. in Timoth. c. 4.

bans, and seeing himself abandoned in the battle by the allies, who had taken to flight, he sustained alone the charge of the enemy; his soldiers, by his order, having closed their files with one knee upon the ground covered with their bucklers, and presented their pikes in front, in such a manner, that they could not be broke, and Agefilaus, though victorious, was obliged to retire. The Athenians erected a statue to Chabrias in the attitude he had fought,

IPHICRATES was of very mean extraction, his father having been a shoemaker. But in a free city like Athens, merit was the sole nobility. This person may be truly said to be the son of his actions. Having signalized himself in a naval combat, wherein he was only a private soldier, he was soon after employed with distinction, and honoured with a command. In a prosecution carried on against him before the judges, his accuser, who was one of the descendants of Harmodius, and made very great use of his ancestor's name, having reproached him with the baseness of his birth; *Yes*, replied he, *the nobility of my family begins in me: that of yours ends in you.* He married the daughter of Cotys, King of Thrace.

(1) He is † ranked with the greatest men of Greece, especially in what regards the knowledge of war and military discipline. He made several useful alterations in the soldiers armour. Before him, the bucklers were very long and heavy, and for that reason were too great a burden, and extremely troublesome: he had them made shorter and lighter, so that, without exposing the body, they added to its force and agility. On the contrary, he lengthened the pikes and swords, to make them capable of reaching the enemy at a greater distance. He also changed the cuirasses; and instead of iron and brass, of which they were made before, he caused them to be made of flax. It is not easy to conceive how such armour could defend the soldier

(1) Diod. l. xv. p. 360. Cor. Nep. in Iphic. c. 1.

† Iphicrates Atheniensis, non tam magnitudine rerum gestarum, quam disciplina militari nobilitatus est. Fuit enim talis dux ut non solum ætatis suæ, cum primis compararetur, sed ne de majoribus nam quidem quisquam anteponeretur. Cor. Nep.

(m) Plu-  
\* Hic a p-  
disertus, in  
tatis regend-  
Timothe-  
pater, ad ca-  
offic. n. 11

## PERSIANS and GRECIANS. 323

ers, or be any security against wounds. But that flax being soaked in vinegar, mingled with salt, was prepared in such a manner, that it grew hard, and became impenetrable either to sword or fire. The use of it was common amongst several nations.

No troops were ever better disciplined than those of Iphicrates. He kept them always in action, and, in times of peace and tranquillity, made them perform all the necessary evolutions either in attacking the enemy, or defending themselves; in laying ambuscades, or avoiding them; in keeping their ranks even in pursuit of the enemy, without abandoning themselves to an ardor which often becomes pernicious, or to rally with success after having begun to break and give way. So that when battle was to be given, all was in motion with admirable promptitude and order. The officers and soldiers drew themselves up without any trouble, and even in the heat of action performed their parts as the most able general would have directed them. A merit very rare, as I have been informed, but very estimable; as it contributes more than can be imagined to the gaining of a battle, and implies a very uncommon superiority of genius in the general.

TIMOTHEUS was the son of Conon, so much celebrated for his great actions, and the important services he had rendered his country. \* He did not degenerate from his father's reputation, either for his merit in the field, or his ability in the government of the state; but he added to those excellencies, the glory which results from the talents of the mind, having distinguished himself particularly by the gift of eloquence, and a taste for the sciences.

(m) No captain at first ever experienced less than himself the inconstancy of the fortune of war. He had only to undertake an enterprise to accomplish it. Success per-

(m) Plut. in Sylla, p. 454.

\* Hic a patre acceptam gloriam multis auxit virtutibus. Fuit enim disertus, impiger, laboriosus, rei militaris peritus, neque minus civitatis regendae Cor. Nep. c. 1

Timotheus Cononis filius, cum belli laude non inferior fuisset quam pater, ad eam laudem doctrinae et ingenii gloriam adiecit. Cic. l. i. de offic. n. 116.



petoally attended his views and desires. Such uncommon prosperity did not fail to excite jealousy. Those who envied him, as I have already observed, caused him to be painted asleep, with fortune by him taking cities for him in nets. Timotheus retorted coldly, *If I take places in my sleep, what shall I do when I am awake?* He took the thing afterwards more seriously, and angry with those who pretended to lessen the glory of his actions, declared in public, that he did not owe his success to fortune, but to himself. That goddess, says Plutarch, offended at his pride and arrogance, abandoned him afterwards entirely, and he was never successful afterwards. Such were the chiefs employed in the war of the allies.

(n) The war and the campaign opened with the siege of Chio. Chares commanded the land, and Chabrias the sea-forces. All the allies exerted themselves in sending aid to that island. Chabrias, having forced the passage, entered the port, notwithstanding all the endeavours of the enemy. The other galleys were afraid to follow, and abandoned him. He was immediately surrounded on all sides, and his vessel exceedingly damaged by the assaults of the enemy. He might have saved himself by swimming to the Athenian fleet, as his soldiers did: but, from a mistaken principle of glory, he thought it inconsistent with the duty of a general to abandon his vessel in such a manner, and preferred a death glorious in his sense, to a shameful flight.

This first attempt having miscarried, both sides applied themselves vigorously to making new preparations. The Athenians fitted out a fleet of sixty galleys, and appointed Chares to command it, and armed sixty more under Iphicrates and Timotheus. The fleet of the allies consisted of an hundred sail. After having ravaged several islands belonging to the Athenians, where they made a great booty, they sat down before Samos. The Athenians on their side, having united all their forces, besieged Byzantium. The allies made all possible haste to its relief. The two fleets being in view of each other, prepared to fight, when suddenly a violent storm arose; notwithstanding which Chares

(n) Diod. l. xvi. p. 412.; Corn. Nep. in Chab. c. 4.

## PERSIANS and GRECIANS. 325

resolved to advance against the enemy. The two other captains, who had more prudence and experience than him, thought it improper to hazard a battle in such a conjuncture. Chares, enraged at their not following his advice, called the soldiers to witness, that it was not his fault they did not fight the enemy. He was naturally vain, ostentatious, and full of himself; one who exaggerated his own services, depreciated those of others, and arrogated to himself the whole glory of successes. He wrote to Athens against his two colleagues, and accused them of cowardice and treason. Upon his complaint, the people, \* capricious, warm, suspicious, and naturally jealous of such as were distinguished by their extraordinary merit or authority, recalled those two generals, and brought them to a trial.

The faction of Chares, which was very powerful at Athens, having declared against Timotheus, he was sentenced to pay a fine of an hundred talents †; a worthy reward for the noble disinterestedness he had shewn upon another occasion, in bringing home to his country twelve hundred talents § of booty taken from the enemy, without the least deduction for himself. He could bear no longer the sight of an ungrateful city; and being too poor to pay so great a fine, retired to Chalcis. After his death, the people touched with repentance, mitigated the fine to ten talents, which they made his son Conon pay, to rebuild a certain part of the walls. Thus, by an event sufficiently odd, those very walls which his grandfather had rebuilt with the spoils of the enemy, the grandson, to the shame of Athens, repaired in part at his own expence.

(o) Iphicrates was also obliged to answer for himself before the judges. It was upon this occasion, that Aristophon, another Athenian captain, accused him of having betrayed and sold the fleet under his command. Iphicrates, with

(o) Arist. rhet. l. ii. c. 23.

\* Populus acer, suspicax, mobilis, adversarius, invidus etiam potentiae, domum revocat Cor Nep.

† An hundred thousand crowns.

§ Twelve hundred thousand crowns.

the confidence an established reputation inspires, asked him, *Would you have committed a treason of this nature?* No, replied Aristophon; *I am a man of too much honour for such an action!* How, replied Iphicrates, *could Iphicrates do what Aristophon would not do?*

(p) He did not only employ the force of arguments in his defence, he called in also the assistance of arms. Instructed by his colleague's ill success, he saw plainly that it was more necessary to intimidate than convince his judges. He posted round the place where they assembled, a number of young persons, armed with poniards, which they took care to shew from time to time. They could not resist so forcible and triumphant a kind of eloquence, and dismissed him acquitted of the charge. When he was afterwards reproached with so violent a proceeding; *I had been a fool indeed*, said he, *if having made war successfully for the Athenians, I had neglected doing so for myself.*

Chares, by the recall of his two colleagues, was left sole general of the whole army, and was in a condition to have advanced the Athenian affairs very much in the Hellespont, if he had known how to resist the magnificent offers of Artabasus. That viceroy, who had revolted in Asia Minor against the King of Persia his master, besieged by an army of seventy thousand men, and just upon the point of being ruined from the inequality of his forces, corrupted Chares. That general, who had no thoughts but of enriching himself, marched directly to the assistance of Artabasus, effectually relieved him, and received a reward suitable to the service. This action of Chares was treated as a capital crime. He had not only abandoned the service of the republic for a foreign war, but offended the King of Persia, who threatened by his ambassadors to equip three hundred sail of ships in favour of the islanders allied against Athens. The credit of Chares saved him again upon this, as it had done several times before upon like occasions. The Athenians intimidated by the King's menaces, ap-

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## PERSIANS and GRECIANS. 327

plied themselves seriously to prevent their effects by a general peace.

Prior to these menaces, Isocrates had earnestly recommended this treaty to them in a fine discourse (q), which is still extant; wherein he gives them excellent advice. He reproaches them with great liberty, as does Demosthenes in almost all his orations, of abandoning themselves blindly to the insinuations of orators, who flatter their passions, whilst they treat those with contempt, who give them the most salutary counsels. He applies himself particularly to correct in them their violent passion for the augmentation of their power, and dominion over the people of Greece, which had been the source of all their misfortunes. He recalls to their remembrance those happy days, so glorious for Athens, in which their ancestors, out of a noble and generous disinterestedness, sacrificed every thing for the support of the common liberty, and the preservation of Greece; and compares them with the present sad times, wherein the ambition of Sparta, and afterwards that of Athens, had successively plunged both states into the greatest misfortunes. He represents to them, that the real and lasting greatness of a state does not consist in augmenting its dominions, or extending its conquests to the utmost, which cannot be effected without violence and injustice; but in the wise government of the people, in rendering them happy, in protecting their allies, in being beloved and esteemed by their neighbours, and feared by their enemies. "A state, says he, cannot fail of becoming the arbiter of all its neighbours when it knows how to unite in its measures the two great qualities, justice and power, which mutually support each other, and ought to be inseparable. For as power, not regulated by the motives of reason and justice, has recourse to the most violent methods to crush and subvert whatever opposes it; so justice, when unarmed and without power, is exposed to injury, and neither in a condition to defend itself, nor protect others." The conclusion drawn by Isocrates from this reasoning, is, That Athens, if it would be happy, and

(q) De pace, seu socialis.



in tranquillity, ought not to affect the empire of the sea for the sake of lording it over all other states; but should conclude a peace, whereby every city and people should be left to the full enjoyment of their liberty; and declare themselves irreconcilable enemies of those who should presume to disturb that peace, or contravene such measures.

(r) The peace was concluded accordingly under such conditions; and it was stipulated that Rhodes, Byzantium, Chio, and Chos, should enjoy entire liberty. The war of the allies ended in this manner after having continued three years.

SECT. III. *Demosthenes encourages the Athenians, alarmed by the preparations of Artaxerxes for war. He harangues them in favour of the Megalopolitans, and afterwards of the Rhodians. Death of Mausolus. Extraordinary grief of Artemisa his wife.*

(s) **T**HIS peace did not entirely remove the apprehension of the Athenians with regard to the King of Persia. The great preparations he was making, gave them umbrage, and they were afraid so formidable an armament was intended against Greece, and that Egypt was only a plausible pretext with which the king covered his real design.

Athens took the alarm upon this rumour. The orators increased the fears of the people by their discourses, and exhorted them to have an immediate recourse to their arms, to prevent the King of Persia by a previous declaration of war, and to make a league with all the people of Greece against the common enemy. Demosthenes made his first appearance in public at this time, and mounted the tribunal for harangues to give his opinion. He was twenty-eight years of age. I shall speak more extensively of him in the conclusion of this volume. Upon the present occasion, more wise than those precipitate orators, and having undoubtedly in view the importance to the re-

(r) A. M. 3648. Ant. J. C. 355.

(s) A. M. 3649. Ant. J. C. 355.

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## PERSIANS and GRECIANS. 329

public of the aid of the Persians against Philip, he dared not indeed oppose in a direct manner their advice, lest he should render himself suspected; but, admitting as a principle from the first, that it was necessary to consider the King of Persia as the eternal enemy of Greece, he represented that it was not consistent with prudence, in an affair of such great consequence, to precipitate any thing; that it was very improper, by a resolution taken upon light and uncertain reports, and by a too early declaration of war, to furnish so powerful a prince with a just reason to turn his arms against Greece; that all which was necessary at present, was to fit out a fleet of three hundred sail, (in what manner, he proposed a \* scheme), and to hold the troops in a readiness and condition to make an effectual and vigorous defence in case of being attacked; that, by so doing, all the people of Greece, without farther invitation, would be sufficiently apprised of the common danger to join them; and that the report alone of such an armament would be enough to induce the King of Persia to change his measures, admitting he should have formed any designs against Greece.

For the rest, he was not of opinion, that it was necessary to levy an immediate tax upon the estates of private persons for the expence of this war, which would not amount to a great sum, nor suffice for the occasion. "It is better, said he, to rely upon the zeal and generosity of the citizens. Our city may be said to be almost as rich as all the other cities of Greece together." He had before observed, that the estimate of the lands of Attica amounted to six thousand talents, (about eight hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling). "When we shall see the reality and approach of the danger, every body will be ready to contribute to the expences of the war; as no body can be so void of reason as to prefer the hazard of losing their whole estate with their liberty, to sa-

\* I reserve this scheme for the end of the volume, being curious, and very proper to explain in what manner the Athenians fitted out, and subsisted their fleets.

crificing a small part of it to their own, and their country's preservation.

"And we ought not to fear, as some people would insinuate, that the great riches of the King of Persia enable him to raise a great body of auxiliaries, and render his army formidable against us. Our Greeks, when they are to march against Egypt, or Orontes, and the other barbarians, serve willingly under the Persians; but not one of them, I dare be assured, not a single man of them, will ever resolve to bear arms against Greece."

This discourse had all its effect. The refined and delicate address of the orator, in advising the imposition of a tax to be deferred, and artfully explaining at the same time that it would fall only upon the rich, was highly proper to render abortive an affair, which had no other foundation than in the overheated imaginations of some orators, who were perhaps interested in the war they advised.

(t) Two years after, an enterprise of the Lacedaemonians against Megalopolis, a city of Arcadia, gave Demosthenes another opportunity to signalize his zeal, and display his eloquence. That city, which had been lately established by the Arcadians, who had settled a numerous colony there from different cities, and which might serve as a fortress and bulwark against Sparta, gave the Lacedaemonians great uneasiness, and alarmed them extremely. They resolved therefore to attack and make themselves masters of it. The Megalopolitans, who, without doubt, had renounced their alliance with Thebes, had recourse to Athens, and implored its protection: the other people concerned sent also their deputies thither, and the affair was debated before the people.

(u) Demosthenes founded his discourse from the beginning of it upon this principle, That it was of the last importance to prevent either Sparta or Thebes from growing too powerful, and from being in a condition to give the law to the rest of Greece. Now, it is evident, that if we abandon Megalopolis to the Lacedaemonians, they will

(t) A. M. 3651. Ant. J. C. 353. Diod. l. xv. p. 401.

(u) Demost. orat. pro Megalop.

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soon make themselves masters of Messene also, two strong neighbouring cities, which are a check upon Sparta, and keep it within due bounds. The alliance we shall make with the Arcadians, in declaring for Megalopolis, is therefore the certain means to preserve so necessary a balance between Sparta and Thebes; because whatever happens, neither the one nor the other will be able to hurt us, whilst the Arcadians are our allies, whose forces, in conjunction with ours, will always be superior to those of either of them.

A weighty objection to this advice of Demosthenes, was the alliance actually subsisting between Athens and Sparta. For, in fine, said the orators who opposed Demosthenes, what idea will the world have of Athens, if we change in such a manner with the times, or is it consistent with justice to pay no regard to the faith of treaties? "We ought," (replied Demosthenes, whose very words I shall repeat in this place); "we \* ought indeed always to have justice in view, and to make it the rule of our conduct; but, at the same time, our conformity to it should consist with the public good and the interest of the state." It has been a perpetual maxim with us, to assist the oppressed. (He cites the Lacedaemonians themselves, the Thebans, and Euboeans, as examples). We have never varied from this principle. The reproach of changing therefore ought not to fall upon us, but upon those whose injustice and usurpation oblige us to declare against them.

I admire the language of politicians. To hear them talk, it is always reason and the strictest justice that determine them; but to see them act, makes it evident that interest and ambition are the sole rule and guide of their conduct. Their discourse is an effect of that regard for justice which nature has implanted in the mind of man, and which they cannot entirely shake off. There are few who venture to declare against that internal principle in their expressions, or to contradict it openly. But there are also few who observe it with fidelity and constancy

\* Δει σκοπεῖν μὲν αἰεὶ καὶ πράττειν τὰ δίκαια\* συμπαρατρεῖν δὲ, πῶς αἷμα καὶ συμφέροντα ἔσται ταῦτα.



in their actions. Greece never was known to have more treaties of alliance than at the time we are now speaking of, nor were they ever less regarded. This contempt of the religion of oaths in states, is a proof of their decline, and often denotes and occasions their approaching ruin.

(x) The Athenians, moved by the eloquent discourse of Demosthenes, sent three thousand foot and three hundred horse to the aid of the Megalopolitans, under the command of \* Pammenes. Megalopolis was re-instituted in its former condition, and its inhabitants, who had retired into their own countries, were obliged to return.

The peace, which had put an end to the war of the allies, did not procure for all of them the tranquillity they had reason to expect from it. The people of Rhodes and Cos, who had been declared free by that treaty, only changed their master. Mausolus King of Caria, who had assisted them in throwing off the Athenian yoke, imposed his own upon them. Having publicly declared himself for the rich and powerful, he enslaved the people, and made them suffer exceedingly. He died the second year after the treaty of peace, having reigned twenty-four years.

(y) Artemisa his wife succeeded him, and as she was supported with all the influence of the King of Persia, she retained her power in the isles lately subjected.

In speaking here of Artemisa, it is proper to observe, that she must not be confounded with another Artemisa, who lived above an hundred years before, in the time of Xerxes, and who distinguished her resolution and prudence so much in the naval battle of Salamin. Several celebrated writers have fallen into this error, through inadvertency.

(z) This princess immortalized herself by the honours she rendered to the memory of Mausolus her husband. She caused a magnificent monument to be erected for him in Halicarnassus, which was called the *Mausolaeum*, and for its beauty was esteemed one of the wonders of the

(x) Diod. l. xv. p. 402. (y) A. M. 3650. Ant. J. C. 3540. Diod. l. xvi. p. 435. (z) Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 5.

This is not the Pammenes of Thebes, of whom mention has been made before.

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world, and gave the name of *Mausolæum* to all future great and magnificent structures of the same kind.

(a) She endeavoured also to eternize the name of Mausolus by other monuments, which she believed more durable than those of brass or marble, but are often no better proof against the injuries of time; I mean works of wit. She caused excellent panegyrics to be made in honour of her husband, and proposed a prize of great value for the person whose performance should be the best. Amongst many others, the celebrated Isocrates, and Theopompus, his disciple, were competitors for it.

Theopompus carried it from them all, and had the weakness and vanity to boast in public of having gained the prize against his master; preferring, as is too common, the fame of fine parts to the glory of a good heart. He had represented Mausolus in his history as a prince most forbiddingly avaritious, to whom all means of amassing treasure were good and eligible. He painted him without doubt in very different colours in his panegyric, or else he would never have pleased the princess.

(b) That illustrious widow prepared a different tomb for Mausolus, than that I have been speaking of. Having gathered his ashes, and had the bones beaten in a mortar, she mingled some of the powder every day in her drink, till she had drank it all off; desiring by that means to make her own body the sepulchre of her husband. She survived him only two years, and her grief did not end but with her life.

Instead of tears, in which most writers plunge Artemisa during her widowhood, there are some who say she made very considerable conquests. (c) It appears, by one of Demosthenes's orations, that she was not considered at Athens as a forlorn relict, who neglected the affairs of her kingdom. But we have something more decisive upon this head.

(d) Vitruvius tells us, that, after the death of Mausolus, the Rhodians, offended that a woman should reign in Ca-

(a) Aul. Gel. l. x. c. 18.; Plut. in Isocrat. p. 838. (b) Cic. Tusc. quaest. l. iii. n. 75.; Val. Max. l. iv. c. 6. (c) Demosth. de libertat. Rhod. p. 145. (d) Vitruv. de architect. l. ii. c. 9.

ria, undertook to dethrone her. They left Rhodes for that purpose with their fleet, and entered the great port of Halicarnassus. The Queen, being informed of their design, had given the inhabitants orders to keep within the walls, and when the enemy should arrive, to express, by shouts and clapping of hands, a readiness to surrender the city to them. The Rhodians quitted their ships, and went in all haste to the public place, leaving their fleet without any to guard it. In the mean time, Artemisa came out with her galleys from the little port through a small canal, which she had caused to be cut on purpose, entered the great port, and seized the enemy's fleet without resistance, and having put her soldiers and mariners on board of it, she set sail. The Rhodians, having no means of escaping, were all put to the sword. The Queen all the while advanced towards Rhodes. When the inhabitants saw their vessels approach, adorned with wreaths of laurel, they raised great shouts, and received their victorious and triumphant fleet with extraordinary marks of joy. It was so in effect, but in another sense than they imagined. Artemisa, having met with no resistance, took possession of the city, and put the principal inhabitants to death. She caused a trophy of her victory to be erected in it, and set up two statues of brass; one of which represented the city of Rhodes, and the other Artemisa branding it with a hot iron. Vitruvius adds, that the Rhodians dared never demolish that trophy, their religion forbidding it; but they surrounded it with a building which prevented it entirely from being seen.

All this, as Monsieur Bayle observes in his dictionary, does not express a forlorn and inconsolable widow, that passed her whole time in grief and lamentation; which makes it reasonable to suspect, that whatever is reported of excessive in the mourning of Artemisa, has no other foundation, but its being advanced at a venture by some writer, and afterwards copied by all the rest.

I should be better pleased, for the honour of Artemisa, if it had been said, as there is nothing incredible in it, that by a fortitude and greatness of mind, of which her

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sex has many examples, she had known how to unite the severe affliction of the widow with the active courage of the Queen, and made the affairs of her government serve her instead of consolation : (e) *negotia pro solatiis accipiens*.

(f) The Rhodians being treated by Artemisa in the manner we have related, and unable to support any longer so severe and shameful a servitude, they had recourse to the Athenians, and implored their protection. Though they had rendered themselves entirely unworthy of it by their revolt, Demosthenes took upon him to speak to the people in their behalf. He began with setting forth their crime in its full light ; he enlarged upon their injustice and perfidy ; he seemed to enter into the people's just sentiments of resentment and indignation, and, it might have been thought, was going to declare himself in the strongest terms against the Rhodians : but all this was only the art of the orator, to insinuate himself into his auditors opinion, and to excite in them quite contrary sentiments of goodness and compassion for a people, who acknowledged their fault, who confessed their unworthiness, and who nevertheless were come to implore the republic's protection. He sets before them the great maxims which in all ages had constituted the glory of Athens ; the forgiving of injuries, the pardoning of rebels, and the taking upon them the defence of the unfortunate. To the motives of glory, he annexes those of interest ; in shewing the importance of declaring for a city, that favoured the democratic form of government, and of not abandoning an island so powerful as that of Rhodes : which is the substance of Demosthenes's discourse, intitled, *For the liberty of the Rhodians*.

(g) The death of Artemisa, which happened the same year, it is very likely, re-established the Rhodians in their liberty. She was succeeded by her brother Idriacus, who espoused his own sister Ada, as Mausolus had done Artemisa. It was the custom in Caria for the kings to marry their sisters in this manner, and for the widows to succeed

(e) Tacit. (f) A. M. 3653. Ant. J. C. 351, Demosth. de libert. Rhod. (g) Strab. l. xiv. p. 656.



their husbands in the throne in preference to the brothers, and even the children of the defunct.

SECT. IV. *Successful expedition of Ochus against Phoenicia and Cyprus, and afterwards against Egypt.*

(h) **O**CHUS meditated in earnest the reduction of Egypt to its obedience, which had long pretended to maintain itself in independence. Whilst he was making great preparations for this important expedition, he received advice of the revolt of Phoenicia. (i) That people oppressed by the Persian governors, resolved to throw off so heavy a yoke, and made a league with Nectanebis King of Egypt, against whom Persia was marching its armies. As there was no other passage for that invasion but through Phoenicia, this revolt was very seasonable for Nectanebis, who therefore sent Mentor the Rhodian to support the rebels, with four thousand Grecian troops. He intended by that means to make Phoenicia his barrier, and to stop the Persians there. The Phoenicians took the field with that reinforcement, beat the governors of Syria and Cicia that had been sent against them, and drove the Persians entirely out of Phoenicia.

(k) The Cyprians, who were not better treated than the Phoenicians, seeing the good success which had attended this revolt, followed their example, and joined in their league with Egypt. Ochus sent orders to Idriaeus King of Caria, to make war against them; who soon after fitted out a fleet, and sent eight thousand Greeks along with it, under the command of Phocion the Athenian, and Evagoras, who was believed to have been the son of Nicocles. It is probable, that he had been expelled by his uncle Protagoras, and that he had embraced with pleasure this opportunity of re-ascending the throne. His knowledge of the country, and the party he had there, made the King of Persia chuse him very wisely to command in this expedition. They made a descent in the island, where their army increased to double its number by the rein-

(h) A. M. 3653. Ant. J. C. 351. (i) Diod. l. xvi. p. 439.

(k) Diod. l. xvi. p. 440, 441.

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forcements which came from Syria and Cilicia. The hopes of enriching themselves by the spoils of this island, that was very rich, drew thither abundance of troops, and they formed the siege of Salamin by sea and land. The island of Cyprus had at that time nine cities, considerable enough to have each of them a petty king. But all those kings were however subjects of Persia. They had upon this occasion united together to throw off that yoke, and to render themselves independent.

Ochus having observed that the Egyptian war was always unsuccessful from the ill conduct of the generals sent thither, he resolved to take the care of it upon himself. But before he set out, he signified his desire to the states of Greece, that they would put an end to their divisions, and cease to make war upon one another.

It is a just matter of surprize, that the court of Persia should insist so earnestly and so often, that the people of Greece should live in tranquillity with each other, and observe inviolably the articles of the treaty of Antalcides, the principal end of which was the establishment of a lasting union amongst them. It had formerly employed a quite different policy. From the miscarriage of the enterprise against Greece under Xerxes, judging gold and silver a more proper means for subjecting it than that of the sword, Persians did not attack it with open force, but by the method of secret intrigues. They conveyed considerable sums into it privately, to corrupt the persons of credit and authority in the great cities; and were perpetually watching occasions to arm them against each other, and to deprive them of the leisure and means to invade themselves. They were particularly careful to declare sometimes for one, and sometimes for another, in order to support a kind of balance amongst them; which put it out of the power of any of those republics to aggrandize itself too much, and by that means to become formidable to Persia.

That nation employed a quite different conduct at this time, in prohibiting all wars to the people of Greece, and commanding them to observe an universal peace, upon pain of incurring their displeasure and arms, to such as should

disobey. Persia without doubt did not take that resolution at a venture, and had its reasons to behave in such a manner with regard to Greece.

Its design might be, to soften their spirit by degrees, in disarming their hands; to blunt the edge of that valour which spurred them on perpetually by noble emulation; to extinguish in them their passion for glory and victory; to render languid, by long inaction and forced ease, the activity natural to them; and, in fine, to bring them into the number of those people, whom a quiet and effeminate life enervates, and who lose in sloth and peace that martial ardor, which combats, and even dangers, are apt to inspire.

The King of Persia, who then reigned, had a personal interest, as well as his predecessor, in imposing these terms upon the Greeks. Egypt had long thrown off the yoke, and given the empire just cause of inquietude. Ochus had resolved to go in person to reduce the rebels. He had the expedition extremely at heart, and neglected nothing that could promote its success. The famous retreat of the ten thousand, without enumerating many other actions of a like nature, had left a great idea in Persia of the Grecian valour. That prince relied more upon a small body of Greeks in his pay, than upon the whole army of the Persians, as numerous as it was; and he well knew, that the intestine divisions of Greece would render the cities incapable of supplying the number of soldiers he had occasion for.

In fine, as a good politician, he could not enter upon action in Egypt, till he had pacified all behind him, Ionia especially, and its neighbouring provinces. Now, the most certain means to hold them in obedience, was to deprive them of all hope of aid from the Greeks, to whom they had always recourse in times of revolt, and without whom they were in no condition to form any great enterprises (1).

When Ochus had taken all his measures, and made the necessary preparations, he repaired to the frontiers of Phoenicia, where he had an army of three hundred thou-

(1) Diod. l. xvi. p. 441---443.

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land foot, and thirty thousand horse, and put himself at the head of it. Mentor was at Sidon with the Grecian troops. The approach of so great an army staggered him; and he sent secretly to Ochus, to make him offers, not only of surrendering Sidon to him, but of serving him in Egypt, where he was well acquainted with the country, and might be very useful to him. Ochus agreed entirely to the proposal, upon which he engaged Tennes King of Sidon in the same treason, and they surrendered the place in concert to Ochus.

The Sidonians had set fire to their ships upon the approach of the King's troops, in order to lay the people under the necessity of making a good defence, by removing all hope of any other security. When they saw themselves betrayed, that the enemy were masters of the city, and that there was no possibility of escaping either by sea or land, in the despair of their condition, they shut themselves up in their houses, and set them on fire. Forty thousand men, without reckoning women and children, perished in this manner. The fate of Tennes their King was no better. Ochus, seeing himself master of Sidon, and having no farther occasion for him, caused him to be put to death; a just reward of his treason, and an evident proof, that Ochus did not yield to him in perfidy. At the time this misfortune happened, Sidon was immensely rich. The fire having melted the gold and silver, Ochus sold the cinders for a considerable sum of money.

The dreadful ruin of this city cast so great a terror into all the rest of Phoenicia, that it submitted, and obtained conditions reasonable enough from the King. Ochus made no great difficulty in complying with their demands, because he would not lose the time there, he had so much occasion for in the execution of his projects against Egypt.

Before he began his march to enter it, he was joined by a body of ten thousand Greeks. From the beginning of this expedition he had demanded troops in Greece. The Athenians and Lacedaemonians had excused themselves from furnishing him any at that time; it being impossible for them to do it, whatever desire they might have.



as they said, to cultivate a good correspondence with the King. The Thebans sent him a thousand men under the command of Lachares; the Argives three thousand under Nicostratus. The rest came from the cities of Asia. All these troops joined him immediately after the taking of Sidon.

(m) The Jews must have had some share in this war of the Phoenicians against Persia. For Sidon was no sooner taken, than Ochus entered Judea, and besieged the city of Jericho, which he took. Besides which, it appears that he carried a great number of Jewish captives into Egypt, and sent many others into Hyrcania, where he settled them along the coast of the Caspian sea.

(n) Ochus also put an end to the war with Cyprus at the same time. That of Egypt so entirely ingrossed his attention, that, in order to have nothing to divert him from it, he was satisfied to come to an accommodation with the nine kings of Cyprus, who submitted to him upon certain conditions, and were all continued in their little states. Evagoras demanded to be reinstated in the kingdom of Salamin. It was evidently proved, that he had committed the most flagrant oppressions during his reign, and that he had not been unjustly dethroned. Protagoras was therefore confirmed in the kingdom of Salamin, and the King gave Evagoras a remote government. He behaved no better in that, and was again expelled. He afterwards returned to Salamin, and was seized, and put to death. Surprising difference between Nicocles and his son Evagoras!

(o) After the reduction of the isle of Cyprus, and the province of Phoenicia, Ochus advanced at length towards Egypt.

Upon his arrival, he incamped before Pelusium, from whence he detached three bodies of his troops, each of them commanded by a Greek and a Persian with equal authority. The first was under Dachares the Theban, and Rosaces governor of Lydia and Ionia. The second

(m) Solin. c. 35; Euseb. in Chron. &c.

(n) Diod. l. xvi. p. 443.

(o) Ibid. p. 444. & 450.

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was given to Nicostratus the Argive, and Aristazanes one of the great officers of the crown. The third had Mentor the Rhodian, and Bagoas one of Ochus's eunuchs, at the head of it. Each detachment had its particular orders. The King remained with the main body of the army in the camp he had made choice of at first, to wait events, and to be ready to support those troops in case of ill success, or to improve the advantages they might have.

Nectanebis had long expected this invasion, the preparations for which had made so much noise. He had an hundred thousand men on foot, twenty thousand of whom were Greeks, twenty thousand Libyans, and the rest of Egyptian troops. Part of them he bestowed in the places upon the frontiers, and posted himself with the rest in the passes, to dispute the enemy's entrance into Egypt. Ochus's first detachment was sent against Pelusium, where there was a garrison of five thousand Greeks. Lachares besieged the place. That under Nicostratus, on board of four and twenty ships of the Persian fleet, entered one of the mouths of the Nile at the same time, and sailed into the heart of Egypt, where they landed, and fortified themselves well in a camp, of which the situation was very advantageous. All the Egyptian troops in these parts were immediately drawn together under Clinias, a Greek of the isle of Cos, and prepared to repel the enemy. A very warm action ensued, in which Clinias with five thousand of his troops were killed, and the rest entirely broke and dispersed.

This action decided the success of the war. Nectanebis, apprehending that Nicostratus after this victory would embark again upon the Nile, and take Memphis the capital of the kingdom, made all the haste he could to defend it, and abandoned the passes, which it was of the last importance to secure, to prevent the entrance of the enemy. When the Greeks that defended Pelusium were apprised of this precipitate retreat, they believed all lost, and capitulated with Lachares, upon condition of being sent back into Greece with all that belonged to them, and without suffering any injury in their persons or effects.

Mentor, who commanded the third detachment, finding the passes clear and unguarded, entered the country, and made himself master of it without any opposition. For, after having caused a report to be spread throughout his camp, that Ochus had ordered all those who would submit to be treated with favour, and that such as made resistance should be destroyed, as the Sidonians had been; he let all his prisoners escape, that they might carry the news into the country round about. Those poor people reported in their towns and villages what they had heard in the enemy's camp. The brutality of Ochus seemed to confirm it; and the terror was so great, that the garrisons, as well Greeks as Egyptians, strove which should be the foremost in making their submission.

(p) Nectanebis having lost all hope of being able to defend himself, escaped with his treasures and best effects into Æthiopia, from whence he never returned. He was the last king of Egypt of the Egyptian race, since whom it has always continued under a foreign yoke, according to the prediction of Ezekiel (q).

Ochus, having entirely conquered Egypt in this manner, dismantled the cities, pillaged the temples, and returned in triumph to Babylon, laden with spoils, and especially with gold and silver, of which he carried away immense sums; he left the government of it to Pherendates, a Persian of the first quality.

(r) Here Manethon finishes his commentaries, or history of Egypt. He was a priest of Heliopolis in that country, and had wrote the history of its different dynasties from the commencement of the nation to the times we now treat of. His book is often cited by Josephus, Eusebius, Plutarch, Porphyry, and several others. This historian lived in the reign of Ptolemaeus Philadelphus king of Egypt, to whom he dedicates his work, of which \* Syncellus has preserved us the abridgment.

(p) A. M. 3654. Ant. J. C. 350. (q) Ezek. xxix. 14, 15.

(r) Syncel. p. 265.; Voss. de hist. Græc. l. i. c. 14.

\* George, a monk of Constantinople, so called from his being Syncellus, or vicar to the patriarch Tarasus, towards the end of the ninth century.

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Neclanebis lost the crown by his too good opinion of himself. He had been placed upon the throne by Agesilaus, and afterwards supported in it by the valour and counsels of Diophantes the Athenian, and Lamius the Lacedaemonian, who, whilst they had the command of his troops, and the direction of the war, had rendered his arms victorious over the Persians, in all the enterprises they had formed against him. It is a pity we have no account of them, and that Diodorus is silent upon this head. That prince, vain from so many successes, imagined in consequence, that he was become sufficiently capable of conducting his own affairs in person, and dismissed them to whom he was indebted for all those advantages. He had time enough to repent his error, and to discover that the power does not confer the merit of a king.

(s) Ochus rewarded very liberally the service which Mentor the Rhodian had rendered him in the reduction of Phoenicia, and the conquest of Egypt. Before he left that kingdom, he had dismissed the other Greeks laden with his presents. As for Mentor, to whom the whole success of the expedition was principally owing, he not only made him a present of an hundred talents † in money, besides many jewels of great value, but gave him the government of all the coast of Asia, with the direction of the war against some provinces, which had revolted in the beginning of his reign, and declared him generalissimo of all his armies on that side.

Mentor made use of his interest to reconcile the King with his brother Memnon, and Artabafus, who had married their sister. Both of them had been in arms against Ochus. We have already related the revolt of Artabafus, and the victories he obtained over the King's troops. He was however overpowered at last, and reduced to take refuge with Philip king of Macedon; and Memnon, who had borne a part in his wars, had also a share in his banishment. After this reconciliation, they rendered Ochus and his successors signal services; especially Memnon, who

(s) A. M. 3655 Ant. J. C. 349.

† An hundred thousand crowns.



was one of the most valiant men of his times, and no less excellent in the art of war. Neither did Mentor want his great merits, nor deceive the King in the confidence he had reposed in him. For he had scarce taken possession of his government, when he re-established every where the King's authority, and reduced those who had revolted in his neighbourhood to return to their obedience. Some he brought over by his address and stratagems, and others by force of arms, In a word, he knew so well how to take his advantages, that at length he subjected them all to the yoke, and re-instated the King's affairs in those provinces.

(t) The first year of the 108th Olympiad died Plato, the famous Athenian philosopher. I shall defer speaking of him at present, that I may not interrupt the chain of the history.

SECT. V. *Death of Ochus. Arses succeeds him, and is succeeded by Darius Codomanus.*

(u) **O**CHUS, after the conquest of Egypt, and reduction of the revolted provinces of his empire, abandoned himself to pleasure and luxurious ease during the rest of his life, and left the care of affairs entirely to his ministers. The two principal of them were the eunuch Bagoas, and Mentor the Rhodian, who divided all power between them; so that the first had all the provinces of the Upper, and the latter all those of the Lower Asia, under him.

(x) After having reigned twenty-three years, Ochus died of poison given him by Bagoas. That eunuch, who was by birth an Egyptian, had always retained a love for his country, and a zeal for its religion. When his master conquered it, he flattered himself, that it would have been in his power to have softened the destiny of the one, and protected the other from insult. But he could not restrain the brutality of his prince, who acted a thousand things

(t) A. M. 3656. Ant. J. C. 348. (u) Diod. l. xvi. p. 496.

(x) A. M. 3666. Ant. J. C. 338.

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in regard to both, which the eunuch saw with extreme sorrow and always violently resented in his heart.

Ochus, not contented with having dismantled the cities, and pillaged the houses and temples, as has been said, had besides taken away all the archives of the kingdom, which were deposited, and kept with religious care in the temples of the Egyptians; and, in (y) derision of their worship, he had caused the god Apis to be killed, that is, the sacred bull which they adored under that name. What gave occasion for this last action was, (z) that Ochus being as lazy and heavy as he was cruel, the Egyptians, from the first of those qualities, had given him the shocking surname of the stupid animal they found he resembled. Violently enraged at this affront, Ochus said, that he would make them sensible he was not an ass, but a lion; and that the ass, whom they despised so much, should eat their ox. Accordingly he ordered Apis to be dragged out of his temple, and sacrificed to an ass. After which he made his cooks dress, and serve him up to the officers of his household. This piece of wit incensed Bagoas. As for the archives, he redeemed them afterwards, and sent them back to the places where it was the custom to keep them: but the affront which had been done to his religion, was irreparable; and it is believed that was the real occasion of his master's death.

(a) His revenge did not stop there; he caused another body to be interred instead of the King's; and, to avenge his having made the officers of the house eat the god Apis. He made cats eat his dead body, which he gave them cut in small pieces; and for his bones, those he turned into handles for knives and swords, the natural symbols of his cruelty. It is very probable, that some new cause had awakened in the heart of this monster his antient resentment; without which, it is not to be conceived, that he could carry his barbarity so far in regard to his master and benefactor.

After the death of Ochus, Bagoas, in whose hands all

(y) *Ælian.* l. iv. c. 8.

(z) *Plut.* de *Isid. & Osir.* p. 363.

(a) *Ælian.* l. vi. c. 8.

power was that time, placed Arses upon the throne, the youngest of all the late king's sons, and put the rest to death, in order to possess with better security, and without a rival, the authority he had usurped. He gave Arses only the name of *King*, whilst he reserved to himself the whole power of the sovereignty. But perceiving that the young prince began to discover his wickedness, and took measures to punish it, he prevented him by having him assassinated, and destroyed his whole family with him.

Bagoas after having rendered the throne vacant by the murder of Arses, placed Darius upon it, the third of that name who reigned in Persia. His true name was *Codomanus*, of whom much will be said hereafter.

We see here in a full light the sad effect of the ill policy of the Kings of Persia, who, to ease themselves of the weight of public business, abandoned their whole authority to an eunuch. Bagoas might have more address and understanding than the rest, and thereby merit some distinction. It is the duty of a wise prince to distinguish merit; but it is as consistent for him to continue always the entire master, judge, and arbiter of his affairs. A prince, like Ochus, that had made the greatest crimes his steps ascending the throne, and who had supported himself in it by the same measures, deserved to have such a minister as Bagoas, who vied with his master in perfidy and cruelty, Ochus experienced their first effects. Had he desired to have nothing to fear from him, he should not have been so imprudent to render him formidable, by giving him an unlimited power.

SECT. VI. *Abridgment of the life of Demosthenes to his appearance with honour and applause in the public assemblies against Philip of Macedon.*

**A**S Demosthenes will have a great part in the history of Philip, and of Alexander, which will be the subject of the ensuing volume, it is necessary to give the reader some previous idea of him, and to let him know by what means he cultivated, and to what a degree of perfection he carried, his talent of eloquence; which made him

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more awful to Philip and Alexander, and enabled him to render greater services to his country, than the highest military virtue could have done.

(b) That orator born \* two years before Philip, and two hundred and fourscore before Cicero, was not the son of a dirty smoky blacksmith, † as Juvenal would seem to intimate, but of a man moderately rich, who got considerably by forges. Not that the birth of Demosthenes could derogate in the least from his reputation, whose works are an higher title of nobility, than the most splendid the world affords. (c) Demosthenes tells us himself, that his father employed thirty slaves at his forges, each of them valued at three minae, or fifty crowns; two excepted, who were without doubt the most expert in the business, and directed the work, and those were each of them worth an hundred crowns. It is well known, that part of the wealth of the antients consisted in slaves. Those forges, all charges paid, cleared annually thirty minae, that is, fifteen hundred crowns. To this first manufactory, appropriated to the forging of swords and such kind of arms, he added another, wherein beds and tables of fine wood and ivory were made, which brought him in yearly twelve minae. In this only twenty slaves were employed, each of them valued at two minae, or an hundred livres (d).

Demosthenes's father died possessed of an estate of fourteen talents (e). He had the misfortune to fall into the hands of sordid and avaritious guardians, who had no views but of making the most out of his fortune. They carried that base spirit so far as to refuse their pupil's masters the reward due to them: so that he was not educated with the care which so excellent a genius as his required; besides which, the weakness of his constitution, and

(b) A. M. 3623. Ant. J. C. 381. Plut. in Demosth. p. 847. ad 849. (c) In orat. 1. cont. Aphob. p. 896 (d) About 41. 10 s. (e) Fourteen hundred crowns

\* The fourth year of the ninety-ninth Olympiad.

† Quem pater ardentis massae fuligine lippus,

A carbone et forcipibus, gladioque parante

Incede, et luteo Vulcano ad rhetora misit. Juv. l. 4. sat. 10.



the delicacy of his health, with the excessive fondness of a mother that doted upon him, prevented his masters from obliging him to apply much to his studies.

The school of Isocrates \*, in which so many great men had been educated, was at that time the most famous at Athens. But whether the avarice of Demosthenes's guardians prevented him from improving under a master, whose price was very high (f), or that the soft and peaceful eloquence of Isocrates was not to his taste at that time, he studied under Isaeus, whose character was strength and vehemence. He found means however to get the principles of rhetoric taught by the former : but † Plato in reality contributed the most in forming Demosthenes ; he read his works with great application, and received lessons from him also ; and it is easy to distinguish in the writings of the disciple, the noble and sublime air of the master.

(g) But he soon quitted the schools of Isaeus and Plato for another, under a different kind of direction ; I mean, to frequent the bar ; of which this was the occasion. The orator Callistratus was appointed to plead the cause of the city Oropus, situated between Boeotia and Attica. Chabrias, having disposed the Athenians to march to the aid of the Thebans, who were in great distress, they hastened thither, and delivered them from the enemy. The Thebans, forgetting so great a service, took the town of Oropus, which was upon their frontier, from the Athenians, (h) Chabrias was suspected, and charged with treason upon this occasion. Callistratus was chosen to plead against him. The reputation of the orator, and the importance of the cause, excited curiosity, and made a great noise in the city (i) Demosthenes, who was then six-

(f) About 22 l. 10 s. (g) Aul. Gel. l. iii. c. 13. (h) Demosth. in Midi. p. 613. (i) A. M. 3639. Ant. J. C. 365.

\* Isocrates—cujus e ludo, tanquam ex equo Trojano, innumeri principes exierunt. De orat. n. 94.

† Lectitavisse Platonem studiose, audivisse etiam, Demosthenes dicitur : idque apparet ex genere et granditate sermonis. Cic. in Brut. n. 121.

Illud jusjurandum, per caesos in Marathone ac Salamine propugnatores reip. satis manifeste docet, praeceptorem ejus Platonem fuisse. Quint. l. xii. c. 10.

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teen years of age, earnestly intreated his masters to carry him with them to the bar, that he might be present at so famous a trial. The orator was heard with great attention; and having had extraordinary success, was attended home by a croud of illustrious citizens, who seemed to vie with each other in praising and admiring him. The young man was extremely affected with the honours which he saw paid to the orator, and still more with the supreme power of eloquence over the minds of men, over which it exercises a kind of absolute power. He was himself sensible of its effects; and not being able to resist its charms, he gave himself wholly up to it, from thenceforth renounced all other studies and pleasures; and, during the continuance of Callistratus at Athens, he never quitted him, but made all the improvement he could from his precepts.

The first essay of his eloquence was against his guardians, whom he obliged to refund a part of his fortune. Encouraged by this success, he ventured to speak before the people, but with very ill success. He had a weak voice, a thick way of speaking, and a very short breath; notwithstanding which, his periods were so long, that he was often obliged to stop in the midst of them for respiration. This occasioned his being hissed by the whole audience; from whence he retired entirely discouraged, and determined to renounce for ever a function of which he believed himself incapable. One of his auditors, who had observed an excellent fund of genius in him, and a kind of eloquence which came very near that of Pericles, gave him new spirit from the grateful idea of so glorious a resemblance, and the good advice which he added to it.

He ventured therefore to appear a second time before the people, and was no better received than before. As he withdrew, hanging down his head in the utmost confusion, Satyrus, one of the most excellent actors of those times, who was his friend, met him, and having learned from himself the cause of his being so much dejected, he assured him, that the evil was not without remedy, and that the case was not so desperate as he imagined. He

desired him only to repeat some of Sophocles or Euripides's verses to him; which he accordingly did. Satyrus spoke them after him, and gave them such graces by the tone, gesture, and spirit, with which he pronounced them, that Demosthenes himself found them quite different from what they were in his own manner of speaking. He perceived plainly what he wanted, and applied himself to the acquiring of it.

His efforts to correct his natural defect of utterance, and to perfect himself in pronunciation, of which his friend had made him understand the value, seem almost incredible, and prove, that an industrious perseverance can surmount all things. (k) He stammered to such a degree, that he could not pronounce some letters, amongst others, that with which the name of the art \* he studied begins; and he was so short-breathed, that he could not utter a whole period without stopping. He overcame these obstacles at length, by putting small pebbles into his mouth, and pronouncing several verses in that manner without interruption; and that walking, and going up steep and difficult places, so that at last no letter made him hesitate, and his breath held out through the longest periods. (l) He went also to the sea-side, and whilst the waves were in the most violent agitation, he pronounced harangues, to accustom himself, by the confused noise of the waters, to the roar of the people, and the tumultuous cries of public assemblies.

(m) Demosthenes took no less care of his action, than of his voice. He had a large looking-glass in his house, which served to teach him gesture, and at which he used to declaim, before he spoke in public. To correct a fault, which he had contracted by an ill habit, of continually shrugging his shoulders, he practised standing upright in a kind of very narrow pulpit, or rostrum, over which hung a halberd, in such a manner, that if in the heat of action, that motion escaped him, the point of the weapon might serve at the same time to admonish and correct him.

(k) Cic. l. 1. de orat. n. 260, 261.

(m) Id. l. xi. c. 3.

\* Rhetoric,

(l) Quintil. l. 10. c. 3.

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His pains were well bestowed : for it was by this means that he carried the art of declaiming to the highest degree of perfection of which it was capable ; whence it is plain he well knew its value, and importance. When he was asked three several times, which quality he thought most necessary in an orator, he gave no other answer than *pronunciation* ; insinuating, by making that reply \* three times successively, that qualification to be the only one, of which the want could be least concealed, and which was most capable of concealing other defects ; and that pronunciation alone could give considerable weight even to an indifferent orator, when, without it, the most excellent could not hope the least success. He must have had a very high opinion of it, since, to attain a perfection in it, and for the instruction of Neoptolemus, the most excellent comedian then in being, he devoted so considerable a sum as ten thousand drachmas (n), though he was not very rich.

His application to study was no less surprising. To be the more removed from noise, and less subject to distraction, he caused a small chamber to be made for him under ground, in which he shut himself up sometimes for whole months, shaving on purpose half his head and face, that he might not be in a condition to go abroad. It was there, by the light of a small lamp, he composed the admirable orations which were said, by those who envied him, to smell of the oil ; to imply that they were too elaborate. " It is plain," replied he, " yours did not cost you so much trouble. " \* He rose very early in the morning, and used to say, that he was sorry when any workman was at his business before him. (o) We may judge of his extraordinary efforts to acquire an excellence of every kind,

(n) About 140. l. Sterling. (o) Lucian. advers. indoct. p. 639.

\* *Actio in dicendo una dominatur. Sine hac summus orator esse in numero nullo potest: mediocris hac instructus summos saepe superare. Huic primas dedisse Demosthenes dicitur, cum rogaretur quid in dicendo esset primum; huic secundas, huic tertias. Cic. de orat. l. iii. n. 213.*

† Cui non sunt auditae Demosthenis vigiliae? qui dolere se aiebat, si quando opificum antelucana victus esset industria. Tusc. Quaest. l. iv. n. 44.



from the pains he took in copying Thucydides's history eight times with his own hand, in order to render the style of that great man familiar to him.

Demosthenes, after having exercised his talent of eloquence in several private causes, made his appearance in full light, and mounted the tribunal of harangues, to treat there upon the public affairs; with what success, we shall see hereafter. Cicero \* tells us that success was so great, that all Greece came in crowds to Athens to hear Demosthenes speak; and he adds, that merit, so great as his, could not but have had that effect. I do not examine in this place into the character of his eloquence; (p) I have enlarged sufficiently upon that elsewhere; I only consider its wonderful effects.

If we may believe Philip upon this head, of which he is certainly an evidence of unquestionable authority, (q) the eloquence of Demosthenes alone did him more hurt than all the armies and fleets of the Athenians. His harangues, he said, were like machines of war, and batteries raised at a distance against him; by which he overthrew all his projects, and ruined his enterprises, without its being possible to prevent their effect. For I myself, says Philip of him, had I been present, and heard that vehement orator declaim, should have concluded the first, that it was indispensably necessary to declare war against me. No city seemed impregnable to that prince, provided he could introduce a mule laden with gold into it, but he confessed, that, to his sorrow, Demosthenes was invincible in that respect, and that he always found him inaccessible to his presents. After the battle of Chaeronea, Philip, though victor, was struck with extreme dread at the prospect of the great danger to which that orator, by the powerful league he had been the sole cause of forming against him, exposed himself and his kingdom.

(p) Art of studying the belles lettres, vol. 2. (q) Lucian. in encom. Demost. p. 941.

\* Ne illud quidem intelligunt, non modo ita memoriae proditum esse, sed ita necesse fuisse, cum Demosthenes dicturus esset, ut concursus, audiendi causa, ex tota Graecia fierent. In Brut. n. 239.

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(r) Antipater spoke to the same effect of him. I value not, said he, the Piræus, the galleys, and armies of the Athenians : for what have we to fear from a people continually employed in games, feasts, and Bacchanals ? Demosthenes alone gives me pain. Without him the Athenians differ in nothing from the meanest people of Greece. He alone excites and animates them. It is he that rouses them from their lethargy and stupefaction, and puts their arms and oars into their hands almost against their will : incessantly representing to them the famous battles of Marathon and Salamin, he transforms them into new men by the ardor of his discourses, and inspires them with incredible valour and fortitude. Nothing escapes his penetrating eyes, nor his consummate prudence. He foresees all our designs ; he countermines all our projects, and disconcerts us in every thing ; and did Athens entirely confide in him, and wholly follow his advice, we were undone without remedy. Nothing can tempt him, nor diminish his love for his country. All the gold of Philip finds no more access to him, than that of Persia did formerly to Aristides.

He was reduced by necessity to give this glorious testimony for himself in his just defence against Æschines his accuser and declared enemy. " Whilst all the orators have suffered themselves to be corrupted by the presents of Philip and Alexander, it is well known," says he, " that neither delicate conjunctures, engaging expressions, magnificent promises, hope, fear, favour, any thing in the world, have ever been able to induce me to give up the least right or interest of my country." He adds, that instead of acting like those mercenary persons, who, in all they proposed, declared for such as paid them best, like scales, that always incline to the side from whence they receive most ; he, in all the counsels he had given, had solely in view the interest and glory of his country, and that he had always continued inflexible and incorruptible to the Macedonian gold. The sequel will shew how well he supported that character to the end.

(r) Ib. p. 934-936.

Such was the orator who is about to ascend the tribunal of harangues, or rather the statesman to enter upon the administration of the public affairs, and to be the principle and soul of all the great enterprises of Athens against Philip of Macedon.

SECT. VII. *Digression upon the manner of fitting out fleets by the Athenians, and the exemptions and other marks of honour granted by that city to such as had rendered it great services.*

THE subject of this digression ought properly to have had place in that part of the preceding volume, where I have treated the government and maritime affairs of the Athenians. But at that time I had not the orations of Demosthenes which speak of them in my thoughts. It is a deviation from the chain of the history, which the reader may easily turn over, if he thinks fit.

The word *trierarchs* (s), signifies no more in itself than *commanders of galleys*. But those cities were also called *trierarchs* who were appointed to fit out the galleys in time of war, and to furnish them with all things necessary, or at least with part of them.

They were chosen out of the richest of the people, and there was no fixed number of them. Sometimes two, sometimes three, and even ten trierarchs, were appointed to equip one vessel.

(t) At length the number of trierarchs was established at twelve hundred, in this manner. Athens was divided into ten tribes. An hundred and twenty of the richest citizens of each tribe were nominated to furnish the expences of those armaments; and thus each tribe, furnishing six score, the number of the trierarchs amounted to twelve hundred.

Those twelve hundred men were again divided into two parts, of six hundred each; and those six hundred subdivided into two more, each of three hundred. The first three hundred were chosen from amongst such as were

(s) Τριπάρχος

(t) Ulpian. in Olynth. 2. p. 33.

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richest. Upon pressing occasions they advanced the necessary expences, and were reimbursed by the other three hundred, who paid their proportion, as the state of their affairs would admit.

A law was afterwards made, whereby those twelve hundred were divided into different companies, each consisting of sixteen men, who joined in the equipment of a galley. That law was very heavy upon the poorer citizens, and equally unjust at bottom; as it decreed that this number of sixteen should be chosen by their age, and not their estates. It ordained, that all citizens from twenty-five to forty should be included in one of these companies, and contribute one sixteenth; so that by this law the poorer citizens were to contribute as much as the most opulent, and often found it impossible to supply an expence so much above their power. From whence it happened, that the fleet was either not armed in time or very ill fitted out; by which means Athens lost the most favourable opportunities for action.

(u) Demosthenes, alway intent upon the public good, to remedy these inconveniencies, proposed the abrogation of this law by another. By the latter, the trierarchs were to be chosen, not by the number of their years, but the value of their fortunes. Each citizen whose estate amounted to ten talents \*, was obliged to fit out one galley, and if to twenty talents, two; and so on in proportion. Such as were not worth ten talents, were to join with as many others as were necessary to complete that sum, and to fit out a galley.

Nothing could be wiser than this law of Demosthenes, which reformed all the abuses of the other. By these means the fleet was fitted out in time, and provided with all things necessary; the poor were considerably relieved, and none but the rich displeased with it. For instead of contributing only a sixteenth, as by the first law, they were sometimes obliged by the second to equip a galley.

(u) Demost. in orat. de classib.

\* Ten thousand crowns,



and sometimes two or more, according to the amount of their estates.

The rich were in consequence very much offended at Demosthenes upon this regulation, and it was without doubt an instance of no small courage in him to disregard their complaints, and to hazard the making himself as many enemies as there were powerful cities in Athens. Let us hear himself. "(x) Seeing," says he, speaking to the Athenians, "your maritime affairs in the greatest decline, the rich possessed of an immunity purchased at a very low rate, the citizens of middle or small fortunes eat up with taxes, and the republic itself in consequence of these inconveniences, never attempting any thing till too late for its service; I had the courage to establish a law, whereby the rich are restrained to their duty, the poor relieved from oppression, and, what was of the highest importance, the republic enabled to make the necessary preparations of war in due time." He adds, that there was nothing the rich would not have given him to forbear the proposing of this law, or at least to have suspended its execution: but he did not suffer himself to be swayed, either by their threats or promises, and continued firm to the public good.

Not having been able to make him change his resolution, they contrived a stratagem to render it ineffectual. For it was without doubt at their instigation, that a certain person, named *Patroclus*, cited Demosthenes before the judges, and prosecuted him juridically as an infringer of the laws of his country. The accuser having only the fifth part of the voices on his side, was according to custom fined five hundred drachmas, \* and Demosthenes acquitted of the charge; who relates this circumstance himself.

It is doubtful, whether at Rome, especially in the latter times, the affair would have taken this turn. For we see, that whatever attempts were made by the tribunes of the people, and to whatever extremity the quarrel rose, it never was possible to induce the rich, who were far more powerful and enterprising than those of Athens, to renounce the possession of the lands, which they had usurped in mani-

(x) Demost. pro Ctesiph. p. 419.

\* 12 l. 5 s.

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fest contravention of the institutions of the state. The law of Demosthenes was approved and confirmed by the senate and people.

We find from what has been said, that the Trierarchs fitted out the galleys and their equipage at their own expence. The state paid the mariners and soldiers, generally at the rate of three *oboli*, or five pence a day, as has been observed elsewhere. The officers had greater pay.

The Trierarch commanded the vessel, and gave all orders on board. When there were two of them to a ship, each commanded six months.

When they quitted their office, they were obliged to give an account of their administration, and delivered a state of the vessels equipage to their successor, or the republic. The successor was obliged to go immediately and fill up the vacant place; and if he failed to be at his post by a time assigned him, he was fined for his neglect.

As the charge of Trierarch was very expensive, those who were nominated to it, were admitted to point out some other person richer than themselves; and to demand that they should be put into their place; provided they were ready to change estates with such person, and to act in the function of Trierarch after such exchange. This law was instituted by Solon, and was called *the law of exchanges*.

Besides the equipment of galleys, which must have amounted to very great sums, the rich had another charge to support in the time of war; that was the extraordinary taxes and imposts laid on their estates; upon which, sometimes the hundredth, sometimes a fiftieth, and even a twelfth were levied, according to the different occasions of the state.

(y) No body at Athens, upon any pretence whatsoever, could be exempted from these two charges, except the *Novemviri*, or nine Archontes, who were not obliged to fit out galleys. So that we see, without ships or money, the republic was not in a condition, either to support wars, or defend itself.

There were other immunities and exemptions, which

(y) Demost. advers. Lept. p. 545.

were granted to such as had rendered great services to the republic, and sometimes even to all their descendents: as maintaining public places of exercise, with all things necessary for such as frequented them; instituting a public feast for one of the ten tribes; and defraying the expences of games and shews; all which amounted to great sums.

These immunities, as has already been said, were marks of honour and rewards of services rendered the state; as well as statues which were erected to great men, the freedom of the city, and the privilege of being maintained in the Prytaneum at the public expence. The view of Athens in these honourable distinctions, was to express their high sense of gratitude, and to kindle at the same time in the hearts of their citizens a noble thirst of glory, and an ardent love for their country.

Besides the statues erected to Harmodius and Aristogiton, the deliverers of Athens, their descendents were for ever exempted from all public employments, and enjoyed that honourable privilege many ages after.

(z) As Aristides died without any estate, and left his son Lysimachus no other patrimony but his glory and poverty, the republic gave him an hundred acres of wood, and as much of arable land in Euboea, besides an hundred minae \* at one payment, and four drachmas or forty pence a day.

(a) Athens, in the services which were done it, regarded more the good will than the action itself. A certain person of Cyrene, named *Epicerdus*, being at Syracuse when the Athenians were defeated, touched with compassion for the unfortunate prisoners dispersed in Sicily, whom he saw ready to expire for want of food, distributed an hundred minae amongst them, that is, about two hundred and forty pounds. Athens adopted him into the number of its citizens, and granted him all the immunities before mentioned. Some time after, in the war against the thirty tyrants, the same *Epicerdus* gave the city a talent †. These

(z) Demost. in orat. ad Lep. p. 558.

(a) Ibid. 757.

\* Twenty-two pounds ten shillings.

† A thousand crowns.

(b)

## PERSIANS and GRECIANS. 359

were but small matters on either occasion, with regard to the grandeur and power of Athens; but they were infinitely affected with the good heart of a stranger, who, without any view of interest, in a time of public calamity, exhausted himself in some measure for the relief of those with whom he had no affinity, and from whom he had nothing to expect.

(b) The same freedom of the city of Athens granted an exemption from customs, to Leucon, who reigned in the Bosphorus, and his children, because they yearly imported from the lands of that Prince a considerable quantity of corn, of which they were in extreme want, subsisting almost entirely upon what came from other parts. Leucon, in his turn, not to be undone in generosity, exempted the Athenian merchants from the duty of a thirtieth upon all grain exported from his dominions, and granted them the privilege of supplying themselves with corn in his country in preference to all other people. That exemption amounted to a considerable sum. For they brought only from thence two millions of quarters of corn, of which the thirtieth part amounted to almost seventy thousand.

The children of Conon and Chabrias were also granted an immunity from public offices. The names only of those illustrious generals sufficiently justify that liberality of the Athenian people. A person, however, called *Leptinus*, out of a mistaken zeal for the public good, proposed the abrogation, by a new law, of all the grants of that kind, which had been made from immemorial time; except those which regarded the posterity of Harmodius and Aristogiton; and to enact, that for the future the people should not be capable of granting such privileges.

Demosthenes strongly opposed this law, though with great complacency to the person who proposed it; praising his good intentions, and not speaking of him but with esteem; a much more efficacious manner of refuting, than those violent invectives, and that eager and passionate style, which serve only to alienate the people, and to render an orator suspected, who decries his cause himself, and shews

(b) Demost. in orat. ad Lep. p. 545, 546.



its weak side, by substituting injurious terms for reasons, which are alone capable of convincing.

After having shewn, that so odious a reduction would prove of little or no advantage to the republic, from the inconsiderable number of the exempted persons; he goes on to explain its inconveniencies, and to set them in a full light.

"It is first," says he, "doing injury to the memory of those great men, whose merit the state intended to acknowledge and reward by such immunities; it is in some manner calling in question the services they have done their country; it is throwing a suspicion upon their great actions, injurious to, if not destructive of their glory. And were they now alive, and present in this assembly, which of us all would presume to offer them such an affront? Should not the respect we owe their memories make us consider them as always alive and present?"

"But if we are little affected with what concerns them; can we be insensible to our own interest? Besides that cancelling so antient a law, is to condemn the conduct of our ancestors, what shame shall we bring upon ourselves, and what an injury shall we do our reputation? The glory of Athens, and of every well-governed state, is to value itself upon its gratitude, to keep its word religiously, and to be true to all its engagements. A private person that fails in these respects, is hated and abhorred; and who is not afraid of being reproached with ingratitude? And shall the commonwealth, in cancelling a law that has received the sanction of public authority, and being in a manner consecrated by the usage of many ages, be guilty of so notorious a prevarication? We prohibit lying in the very markets under heavy penalties, and require truth and faith to be observed in them; and shall we renounce them ourselves, by the revocation of grants passed in all their forms, and upon which every private man has a right to insist?"

"To act in such a manner, would be to extinguish in the hearts of our citizens all emulation for glory, all desire to distinguish themselves by great exploits, all zeal for

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the honour and welfare of their country; which are the great sources and principles of almost all the actions of life. And it is to no purpose to object the example of Sparta and Thebes, which grant no such exemptions: do we repent our not resembling them in many things; and is there any wisdom in proposing their defects, not their virtues, for our imitation?"

Demosthenes concludes with demanding the law of exemptions to be retained in all its extent, with this exception, that all persons should be deprived of the benefits of it, but those who had a just title to them; and that a strict inquiry should be made for that purpose.

It is plain that I have only made a very slight extract in this place of an exceeding long discourse, and that I designed to express only the spirit and sense, without confining myself to the method and expressions of it.

There was a meanness of spirit in Leptinus's desiring to obtain a trivial advantage for the republic, by retrenching the moderate expences that were an honour to it, and no charge to himself, whilst there were other abuses of far greater importance to reform.

Such marks of public gratitude perpetuated in a family, perpetuate also in a state an ardent zeal for its happiness, and a warm desire to distinguish that passion by glorious actions. It is not without pain, I find amongst ourselves, that part of the privileges granted to the family of the Maid of Orleans, have been retrenched. (c) Charles VII. had ennobled her, her father, three brothers, and all their descendents, even by the female line. In 1614, at the request of the Attorney-general, the article of nobility by the women was retrenched.

(c) Mezerai.

*The End of the FIFTH VOLUME.*

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